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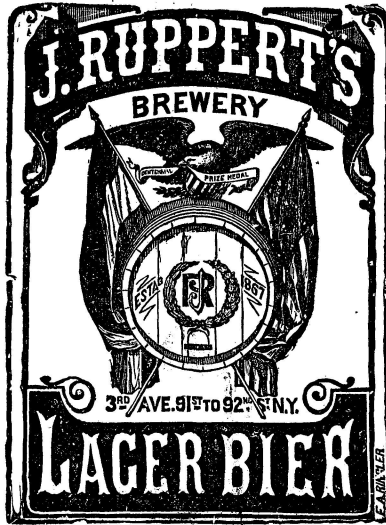
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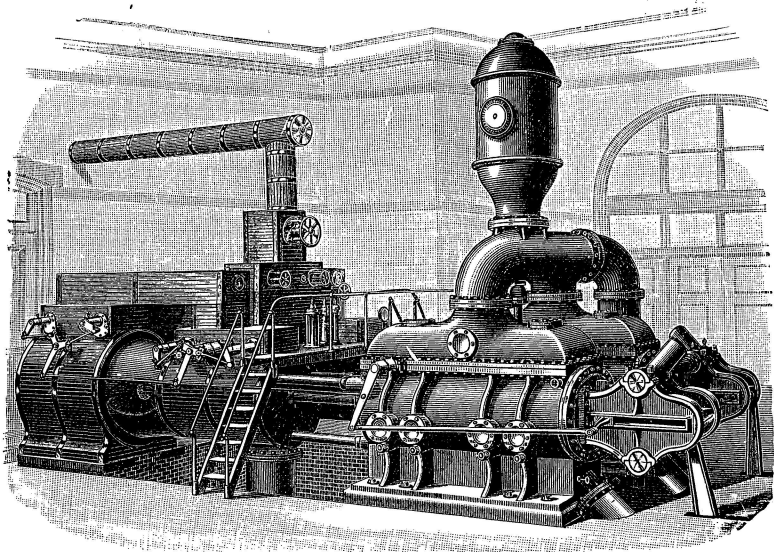
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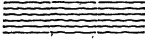
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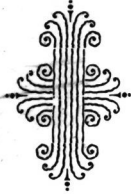
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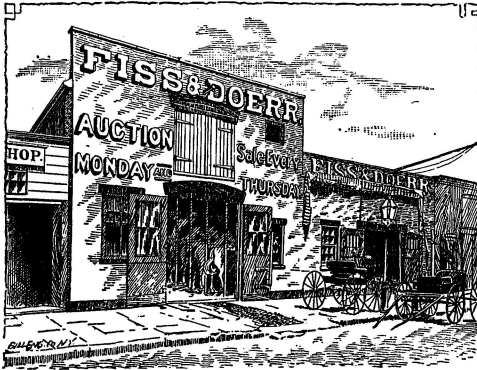
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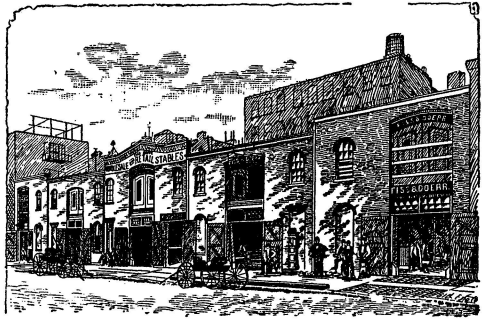
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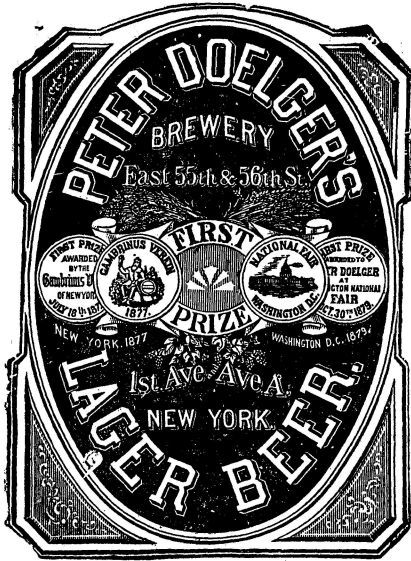
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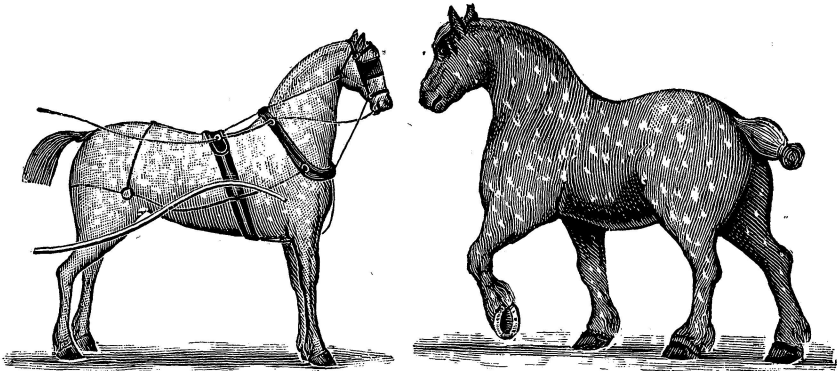
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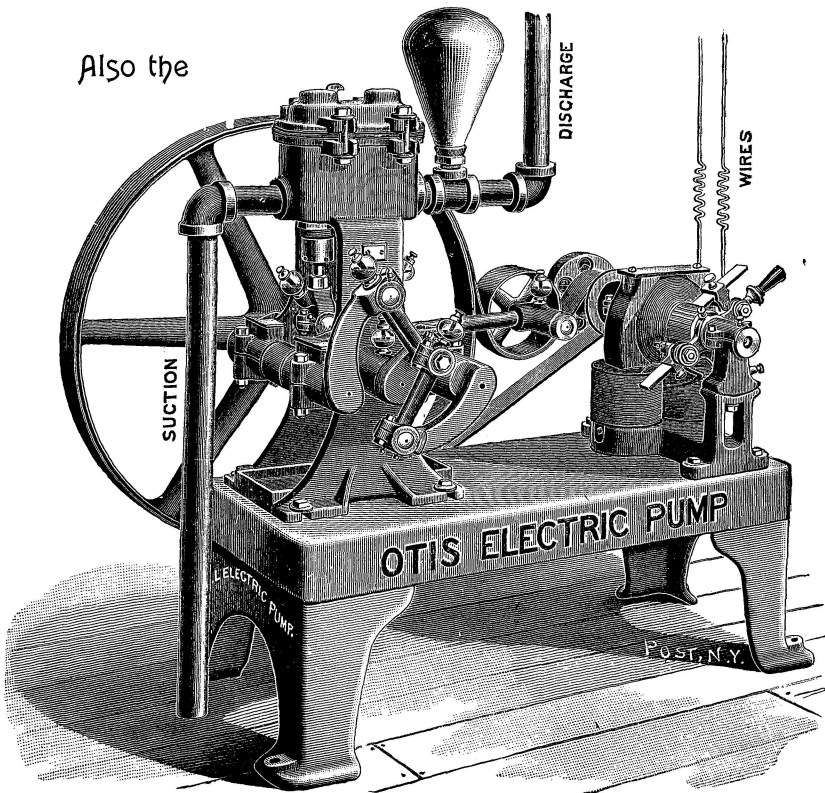
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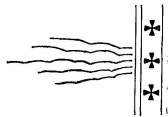
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\$2,700,000

\$14,898,853

\$60,000,000

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\$3,376,458.86

PAID IN DEATH CLAIMS since January 1, 1892—more than Half a Million Dollars having been paid to the widows and orphans within the past Sixty Days.

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THE TOTAL BUSINESS in force foots up to over **\$236,500,000.**

THE SURPLUS RESERVE FUND now amounts to **\$3,376,458.86.**

THE ELOQUENCE OF RESULTS.

YEARS.	INSURANCE IN FORCE.	CASH AND INVESTED ASSETS.	RESERVE OR EMERGENCY FUND.	DEATH CLAIMS PAID.
1881.....	\$7,633,000	\$6,024.83
1882.....	35,190,750	50,441.53	\$11,906.05	\$34,250.00
1883.....	63,328,500	169,946.24	115,762.60	335,675.00
1884.....	85,452,000	350,775.05	271,440.05	815,575.00
1885.....	123,353,500	639,879.41	499,333.91	1,654,250.00
1886.....	150,175,250	989,240.16	856,286.46	2,803,390.00
1887.....	156,554,100	1,472,200.41	1,305,091.27	4,182,071.25
1888.....	168,902,850	1,953,753.81	1,796,678.19	5,764,403.48
1889.....	181,358,200	2,512,588.96	2,304,509.35	7,600,434.74
1890.....	197,003,435	2,930,178.90	2,772,285.80	9,746,932.79
1891.....	215,207,910	3,384,437.05	3,155,220.94	12,037,041.56
1892.....	236,500,000	3,690,592.00	3,376,458.86	14,898,853.00

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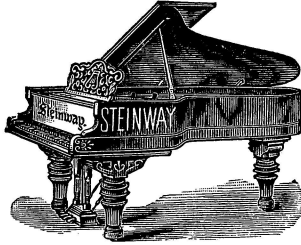
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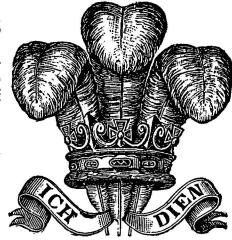
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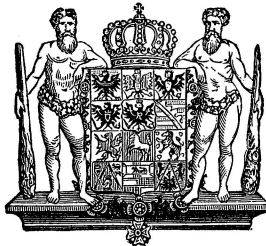
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Her Majesty the Queen of England
AND
Their Royal Highnesses the Prince
and Princess of Wales.



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TAMMANY HALL

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OF THE

INAUGURATION

OF

Cleveland and Stevenson

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 4th, 1893.

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FULLY ILLUSTRATED.

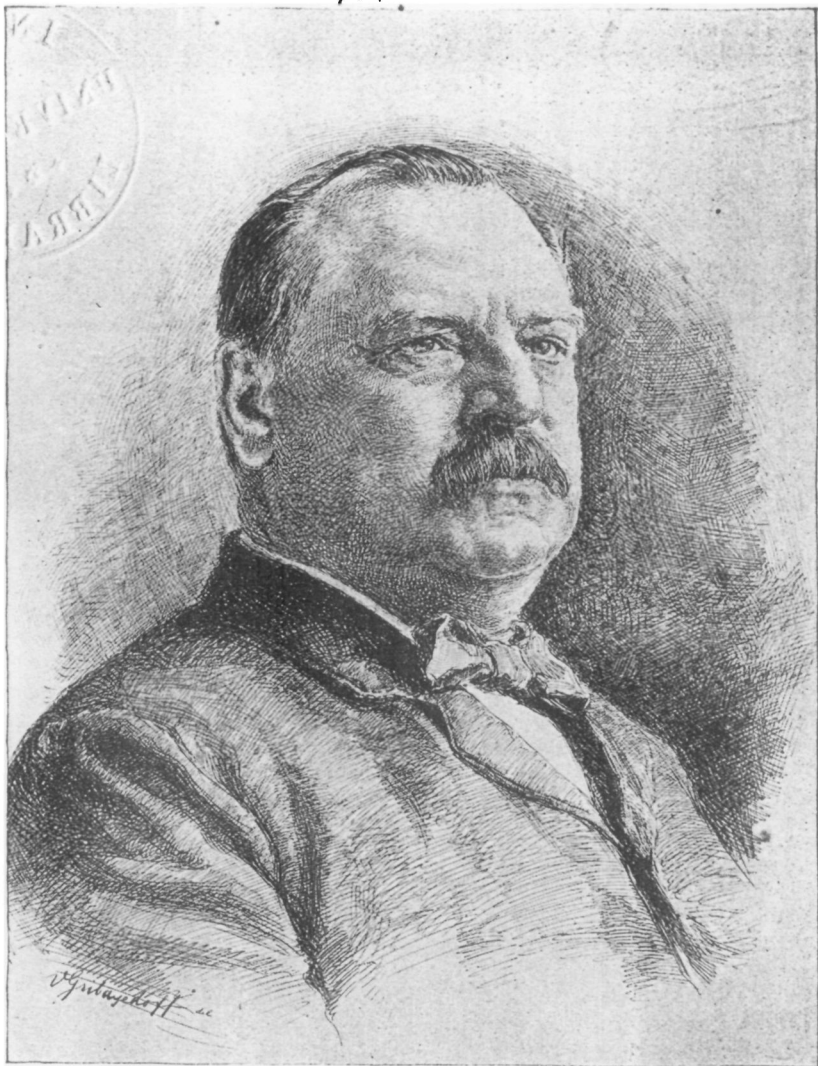
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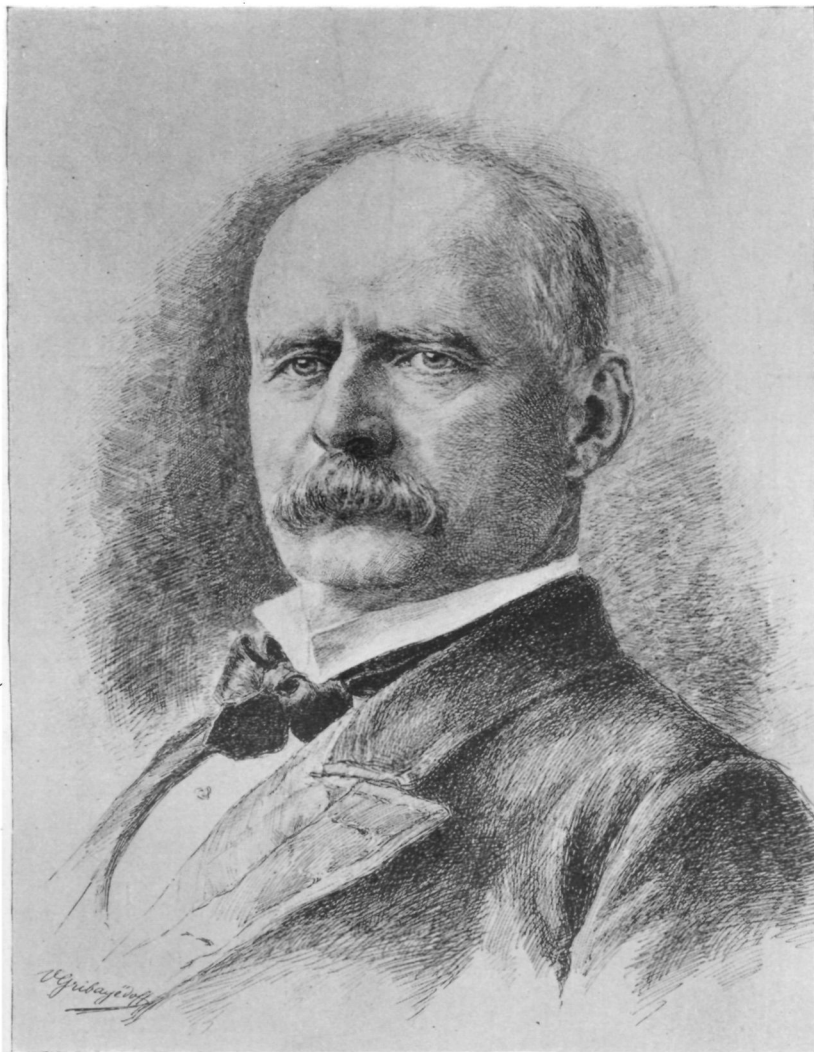
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VICE-PRESIDENT ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

TAMMANY HALL.

A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY.

*By Hon. NELSON SMITH, of the New York Bar, and Chairman
of the Tammany Hall General Committee.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

This sketch is designed to show the rise and growth of Tammany Hall ; the inspiration from which it drew its first breath of life ; the way it received its name ; the causes that brought it into existence ; what it has done ; what it stands for ; and the way it is organized.

The sketch is not intended as a history of Tammany Hall. That would require volumes. It is not intended to give an account of the struggles of aspirants for mere place or position, but rather of the contests of principles for supremacy.

The sketch does not profess to give a connected narrative of events in the history of the organization. It has been written, as it were, upon the spur of the moment, and more from the recollection of researches in the past than from present investigation.

The story is believed to be truthful in all its details, and yet, as nobody is quite perfect in this world, the writer solicits the indulgence of kind readers and of opposing critics.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANCIENT CHIEF—TAMMANY.

The name "Tammany" was derived from the celebrated Indian Chief Tammany, or Tamanend, of the Delawares and of the Confederacy of the Lenni-Lenape.

Tradition furnishes the most marvellous accounts of this famous chief—of his wisdom, his goodness, his justice, his forbearance, his

bravery, his struggles with the evil spirit, and, above all, of his love of liberty.

It is said of him that he "loved liberty better than life."

But we are not left entirely to tradition; we have some authentic history.

It is reasonably certain that Tammany was present at the Great Council under the elm tree at Shakamaxon upon Penn's first arrival in this country. History tells us that all the chiefs of the tribes of the Lenni-Lenape were there, and it is not at all probable that so distinguished a chief as Tammany would have been absent; but, as no treaty was signed at this Council, the names of those present have not been preserved. The first treaty for the purchase of lands made by Penn with the Indians is dated April 23, 1683. Tammany was a party to this treaty, and by it he released his right to a tract of land lying between Pennepack and Neshamony Creeks. But in the great treaty made two years later, May 30, 1685, by which a large portion of Pennsylvania was acquired, the name of Tammany does not appear, and from this circumstance it is inferred that he must have died between these years. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that all accounts of him agree that he died shortly after Penn settled in this country. Penn himself, in speaking of him, says that he found him an old man, yet vigorous in mind and body, with high notions of liberty, but easily won by the suavity and peaceable address of the Governor. The Rev. John Heckewelder, a distinguished pioneer and Moravian Missionary—one of the first white men who penetrated the wilderness now comprised by the State of Ohio—says that when Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, visited the Western Indians by order of Congress in 1776, he learned that Tammany was so beloved for his goodness that the Delawares conferred upon him the title of their venerated chief; that Colonel Morgan brought back to the whites such glowing accounts of the qualities of this ancient chief, that the patriots of the Revolution dubbed him a saint, and inscribed his name on some of the calendars. Tammany societies were formed in his honor, and he was called St. Tammany, and adopted as the tutelar patron saint of Democratic America.

Mr. Lossing, in his histories of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, cites with approbation the account of Heckewelder, and it may be accepted as authentic history.



ST. TAMMANY, THE PATRON SAINT.

Tammany was, without doubt, one of the most distinguished red men who ever lived. He was kind, merciful and brave. He taught his children to cultivate the arts of peace, as well as of war. Under his leadership the Confederacy of the Lenni-Lenape became powerful and mighty. He lived to a remarkable age—so great as to be called “Tammany of many days.” He was looked upon as a patriarch, and revered with all the affection which the sons of the forest always bestowed upon their favorite chieftains. Such was the man whom the Sons of Liberty—the patriots of the Revolution—adopted as their tutelar saint, and who, while he cultivated peace with all men, would not submit to injustice, nor the loss of his liberty, nor of his rights, at the hands of any.

CHAPTER III.

TAMMANY'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE CHILDREN OF HIS TRIBES.

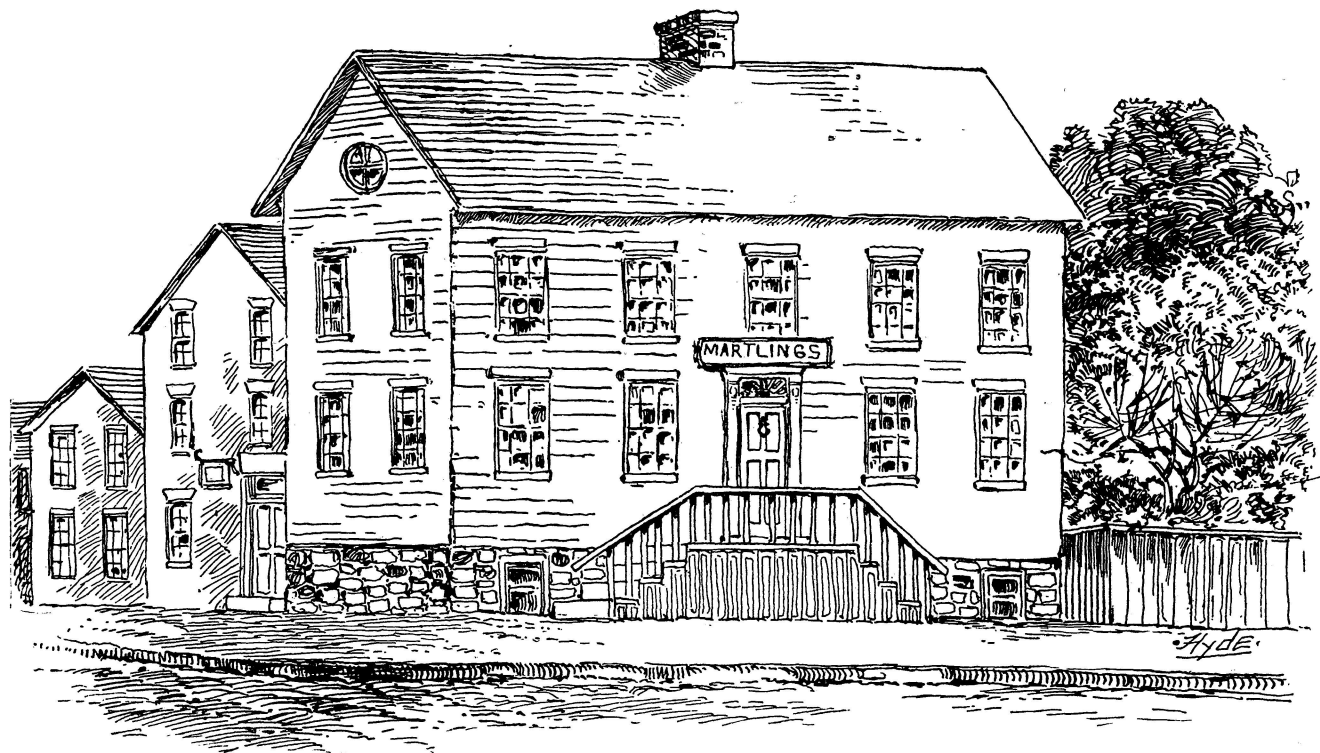
When Tammany was very old, and was about to take his departure to the Spirit World, he made a farewell address to the Children of his several Tribes, which has been translated into English, and handed down by tradition. It is as follows :

“CHILDREN OF THE FIRST TRIBE: The Eagle should be your model. He soars above the clouds, loves the mountain tops, takes a broad survey of the country round, and his watchfulness in the day-time lets nothing escape him. From him learn to direct your thoughts to elevated objects, to rise superior to the logs of prejudice and passion, to behold in the clear atmosphere of reason all things in their true light and posture, and never expose yourself to be surprised, while the sun shines, in a fit of drowsiness or slumber.

“CHILDREN OF THE SECOND TRIBE: The Tiger affords a useful lesson for you. The exceeding agility of this creature, the extraordinary quickness of his sight, and, above all, his discriminating power in the dark, teach you to be stirring and active in your respective callings, to look sharp to every engagement you enter into, and to let neither misty days nor stormy nights make you lose sight of the worthy object of your pursuit.

“CHILDREN OF THE THIRD TRIBE: You are to pay good attention to the qualities of the Deer. He possesses uncommon readiness of hearing—can judge of sounds at a great distance. In like manner open ye your ears to whatever is passing; collect the substance of distant rumors, and learn, before dangers surround your corn-fields and wigwams, what is going on at a distance.

“CHILDREN OF THE FOURTH TRIBE: There is one quality of the Wolf to which I would call your attention. His wide extent of nostrils catches the atoms



THE FIRST WIGWAM, CORNER OF NASSAU AND SPRUCE STREETS, 1798.

floating in the air, and gives him notice of the approach of his prey or his foe. Thus, when power grows rank, and like a contagion sends abroad its pestilent streams, I see the Wolf, like the myrmidons of Tammany, the first to rouse, turn his head, and snuff oppression in every breeze.

“CHILDREN OF THE FIFTH TRIBE: You, my children, are to take useful hints of the Buffalo. He is one of the strongest animals in the wilderness; but strong as he is, he loves the company of his kind and is not fond of venturing upon distant excursions. This is wise in the buffalo, and wise it will be in you to imitate him. Operate in concert, stand together, support one another, and you will be a mountain that nobody can move; fritter down your strength in divisions, become the spirit of parties, let wigwam be divided against wigwam, and you will be an ant-hill which a baby can kick over.

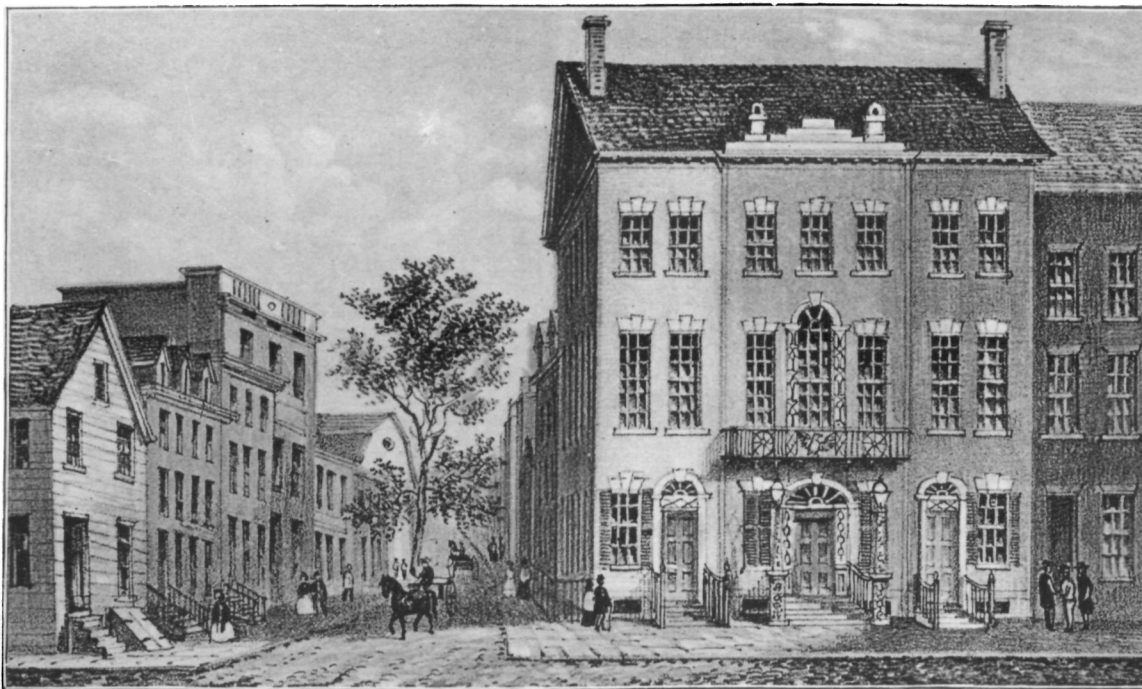
“CHILDREN OF THE SIXTH TRIBE: That social and valuable creature, the Dog, offers something for you to profit by. The warmth of his attachment, the disinterestedness of his friendship, and the unchangeableness of his fidelity, mark him as the object of your kindness and imitation. Do but love each other with half the warmth, sincerity, and steadiness with which these, your constant hunting companions, love you all, and happiness, comfort, and joy will make your land their dwelling-place, and ye shall experience all the pleasure that human nature can bear.

“CHILDREN OF THE SEVENTH TRIBE: You are to take pattern after the Beaver. His industry merits your regard. Forests must be cleared, hills leveled, rivers turned to accomplish your plans. Labor and perseverance overcome all things; for I have heard old people say their ancestors assisted in making the sun, immense as he appears, by collecting into a heap all the fire-flies and glow-worms they could find; and the moon, whose light is fainter and size smaller, was in like manner formed by gathering into a pile all the fox-fire or phosphoric rotten wood they could procure.

“CHILDREN OF THE EIGHTH TRIBE: The Squirrel, my children, offers something profitable to you. It is his practice, as he has a foresight of winter, to collect acorns, chestnuts, and walnuts, and carry them in large quantities to his hole. In like manner it becomes you to look forward to the winter of life, and have some provision necessary for yourselves at that needy time. This you may enjoy at your firesides, while all around you frost rends the trees asunder, and the white powder lies so thick upon the ground that you cannot venture out without your snow-shoes.

“CHILDREN OF THE NINTH TRIBE: You are to learn a lesson from the Fox. He looks well before him as he travels, examines carefully the ground he treads upon, and takes good care that his enemies do not come upon him by surprise. Such keen examination will guard you from difficulties, and if, in the course of nature, you shall be, in spite of all this, beset by them, nothing will more effectually enable you to extricate yourselves.

“CHILDREN OF THE TENTH TRIBE: The Tortoise, who supports on his back the world we inhabit, offers a world of instruction to you. Was it not for his benevolence in keeping afloat on the immense ocean in which he swims, this land we inhabit would soon go to the bottom; and the displeasure he feels when men lead lives



THE WIGWAM FROM 1812 TO 1867, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT SUN BUILDING, CORNER OF FRANKFORT
AND NASSAU STREETS.

of idleness and vice, when they quarrel and injure their neighbors and families, has induced him more than once to dip a part of his shell under the water, and drown a set of wretches no longer fit to live. If, then, you wish to attain a long life, be honest, upright, and industrious.

“CHILDREN OF THE ELEVENTH TRIBE: I recommend to your attention the wholesome counsel derived to man from the Eel. He was never known to make a noise or disturbance in the world, nor to speak an ungentle sentence to a living creature. Slander never proceeded from his mouth, nor doth guile rest under his tongue. Are you desirous, my children, of modest stillness and quiet? Would you like to live peaceably among men? If such be your desires, learn a lesson of wisdom from the Eel, who, although he knows neither his birth nor his parentage, but is cast an orphan upon creation, yet shows by his strength and numbers the excellence of the mode of life he has chosen.

“CHILDREN OF THE TWELFTH TRIBE: I shall point out for your improvement some excellent traits in the character of the Bear. He is distinguished for his patient endurance of those inconveniences which he finds it impossible to ward off. Thus, when scarcity threatens your country with famine, when diseases among the beasts strew your hunting grounds with carcasses, when insects destroy your beans, and worms corrode the roots of your corn, when the streams refuse their accustomed supplies, or when the clouds withhold their rain, bear with patience and resignation whatever necessity imposes upon you. Show yourselves men; for it is adversity which gives scope to your talents.

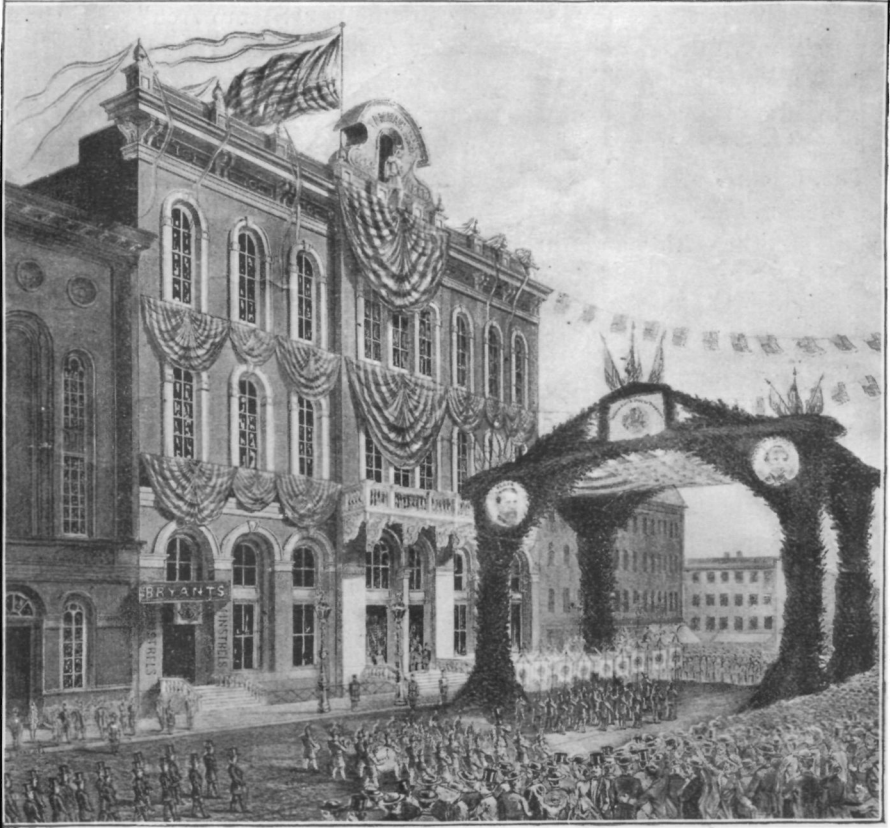
“CHILDREN OF THE THIRTEENTH TRIBE: I call your attention to the economy of the Bee. You observe among those creatures a discipline not surpassed by anything the woods afford. Idlers, vagrants, and embezzlers of public property have no toleration there. Regularity and method prevade every department of their government. Borrow from them an idea of arrangement in business; and, above all, derive from their instructive example that alchemy of mind, which, by an operation somewhat analogous to the production of nectar from venom, converts private feelings into public advantages, and makes even crimes and vices ultimately conducive to public good.”

CHAPTER IV.

INSPIRATION OF TAMMANY IN THE REVOLUTION.

Tammany Hall commenced its career as a patriotic and *quasi*-political society, under the title of “Tammany Society, or Columbian Order,” and soon developed into a political organization. Its first breath of life was drawn from the inspiration of the ancient Indian Chief whose name it bears. It may be said to have been born of the love of liberty and the spirit of independence. Its true office has ever been to maintain the great cause of human rights, and to

preserve the equal enjoyment of them. Its history is made up of the events which so largely enter into the history of our city, State and country, extending back to the scenes of the American Revolution, and some of them ante-dating the Declaration of Independence. It appears to have been a part of the settled policy of Great Britain



DEDICATION OF THE PRESENT WIGWAM, NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION,
JULY 4, 1868.

while we, as American Colonists, were subject to her rule, to use us in every way possible to further her own interests at home. She regarded us as "Fair Game." She passed laws restricting our right to manufacture certain products, prohibiting the exportation of such of our products as would compete with her own manufactures, and

forbidding the importation into the colonies of any goods except of British manufacture, or in British ships. She even forbade, under heavy penalties, the carrying of certain products from one colony to another.

We protested. She treated our protests with scorn. Among other things, she finally carried her policy of selfishness and oppression so far, that in 1765 she passed the infamous "Stamp Act." By the provisions of this act all legal and mercantile documents and contracts, books, newspapers and pamphlets, were required to be written or printed on stamped paper upon which a duty was imposed, and which could be sold only by agents appointed by the British Government. This was too much. Indignation knew no bounds. The most violent opposition arose. The merchants and workmen not only in this city, but in other cities and throughout the country, organized societies called the "Sons of Liberty," or the "Sons of Tammany." These societies solemnly resolved to resist the execution of this obnoxious law, and they did resist its execution, not only in New York but in Boston and wherever its execution was attempted. Extreme measures were used and many acts of violence committed. These societies have been spoken of as mobs, but even so, they were mobs on the right side. Journals published the odious act with a Death's Head in the place of the "Royal Arms."

The opposition was so violent and so great, that the Stamp Act was soon repealed. The British Parliament, however, foolishly and insolently accompanied the repealing act with the declaration that it, of right, had the power to bind the colonies in "all cases whatsoever." This declaration, and the act soon after passed, imposing a tax on tea, rekindled the fires of American liberty, and they never went out until American Independence was fully acknowledged, and the last British soldier had left American soil forever.

It may be asked : How are the "Sons of Liberty," or the "Sons of Tammany," who played such an important part in the struggles of the Revolution, connected with the present Tammany Society or Tammany Hall? The answer is this ;—that the same love of liberty and spirit of independence that inspired the "Sons of Liberty" and the "Sons of Tammany" in the scenes that preceded and attended the great War for Independence, inspired the organizers and promoters of the present Tammany Society ; and that many of the men



RICHARD CROKER.

who took part in the former were participants, as organizers or promoters of the latter.

CHAPTER V.

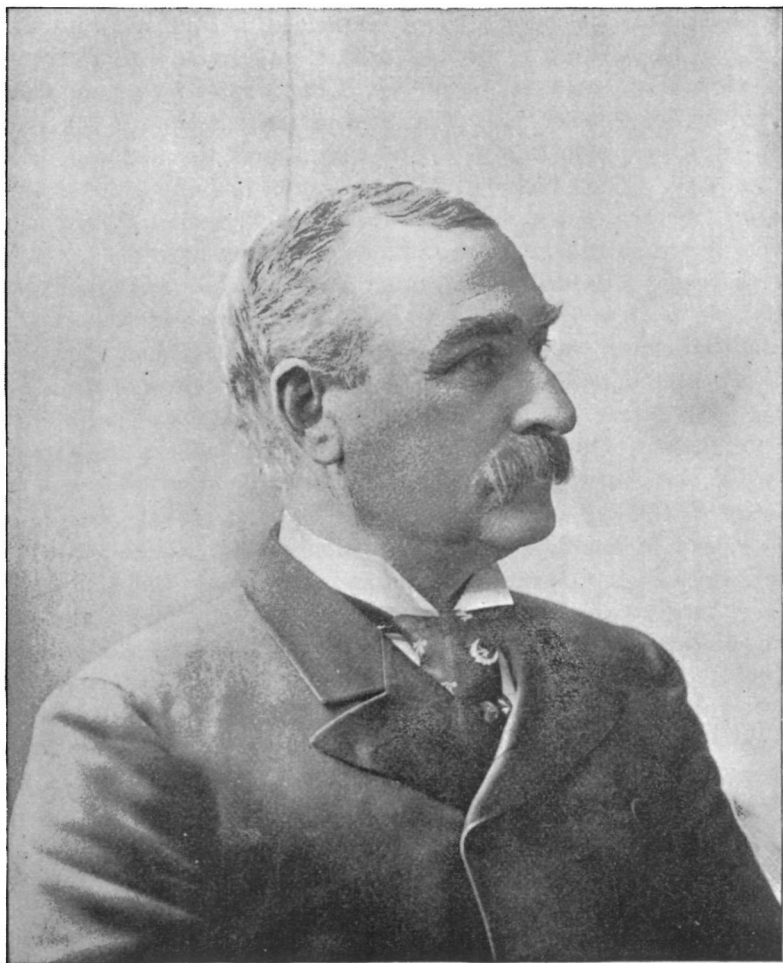
THE TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER.

Soon after Great Britain had acknowledged our independence by the Treaty of Peace of 1783, it became apparent that the Articles of Confederation of 1777, under which the colonies had acted together during the war, were insufficient to preserve the union and to insure an efficient National government. The old Congress, by these articles, was little more than a General Committee of Delegates from the several States, who had not even the power to bind their principals. With few exceptions, they could do little more than recommend the adoption of such measures to the States as they thought the public welfare demanded. In these circumstances it was evident that some plan of general government must be devised with authority to act directly with reference to National affairs, and without consulting the States.

Men differed as to what that plan of general government should be. It was this difference of opinion which produced the first organized political parties in this State and Nation. Pending the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution, it became apparent that despite the fact that we had, by the war, won a great victory for self-government and the preservation of the enjoyment of equal rights, yet there was a strong tendency to centralize the powers of government, and to build up an aristocracy.

Alexander Hamilton, as leader, was the champion of this sentiment. He and those acting with him favored the plan by which the power of government should be consolidated at the centre, and thence distributed to the States. Hamilton proposed that the President and Senators of the United States should hold office during good behavior—practically for life; that Governors of States should be appointed by the President and Senate, and should have an unqualified veto of the acts of the State Legislatures.

Hamilton and his associates were called Federalists, and through their efforts there was organized what was known in those days as the "Federal party."



GRAND SACHEM THOMAS F. GILROY, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Governor George Clinton was the leader of the opposing party—the Democratic party, although not then called by that name. They were opposed to centralizing authority, and were in favor of leaving it in the hands of the people to be exercised as the majority should direct. There were associated with Hamilton as the advocates of his views such men as John Jay, Chancellor Livingston, General Schuyler, of Albany, the Van Rensselaer family and others, the wealthiest people in the State, and with a most decided cast towards aristocracy. The Cincinnati Society was formed about this time with Baron Steuben, a wealthy land-owner, as President. That society strongly sympathized with the advocates of centralization.

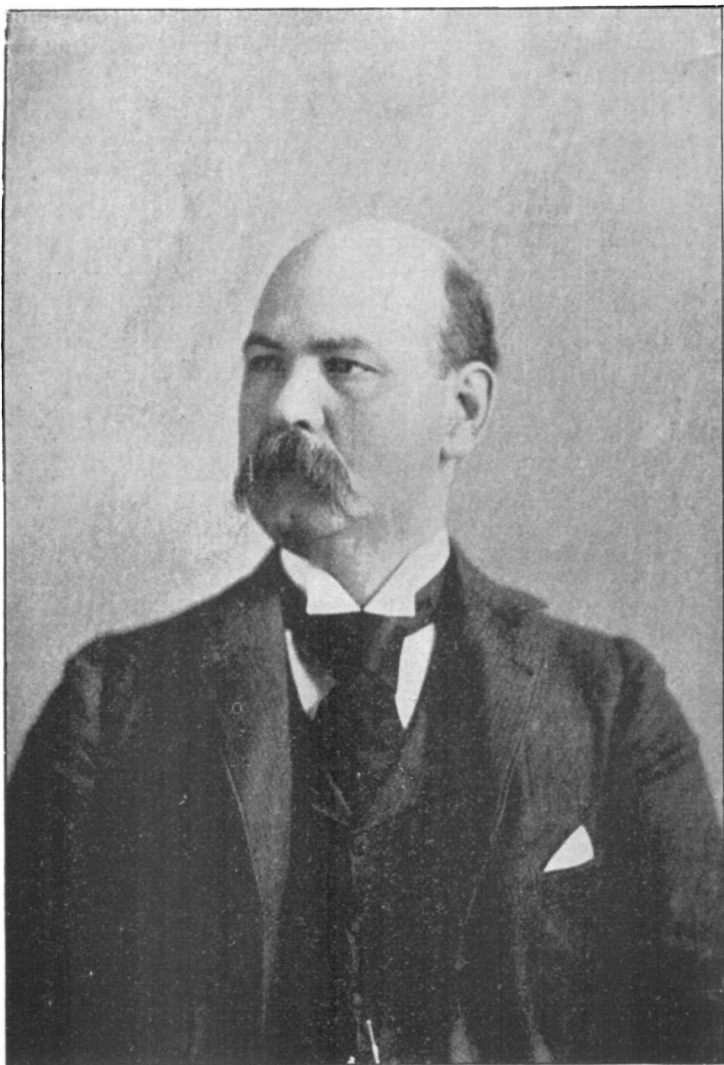
Governor Clinton, on the other hand, was in the grain and in principle a Democrat. He was one of the earliest friends of the American cause, was the first Governor of the State, had been repeatedly re-elected, and had gone through all the struggles of the Revolution. His father was an emigrant from Ireland, who had settled at Little Britain, Orange County, in this State, where the Governor himself was born. Robert Yates, afterward for a long time Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Lansing, subsequently Chancellor, and Melancthon Smith, and men of that stamp, were strong supporters of the Governor, and there is no doubt but that he then had a large majority of the people of the State who stood with him in opposition to the centralizing and aristocratic tendencies advocated by Hamilton. Even the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the formation of which was the result of a compromise, and the election of Washington as first President did not wholly check the centralizing and aristocratic tendencies which had sprung up.

It was chiefly to oppose these tendencies and influences, and to maintain the cause of equal rights, that the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was formed.

It was organized the 12th day of May, 1789, about two weeks after Washington had taken the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

The organization occurred at the old City Hall, which stood at the foot of Nassau street and near Wall street.

The first constitution of the Society expressed its object to be “to connect in indissoluble bonds of friendship American brethren



JAMES J. MARTIN, PRESIDENT OF THE POLICE BOARD AND CHAIRMAN OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberties of the country."

Another object of the Society was to conciliate the numerous tribes of Indians, who were devastating the defenseless frontiers and carrying death and desolation, with fire and tomahawk, to the hearts of the intrepid pioneers. Out of reverence to the memory of the venerated chief Tammany, and the better to cultivate friendly relations with the Indian tribes, the Society adopted aboriginal forms, costumes and ceremonies. The year was divided into four seasons. December, January and February was the Season of Snows ; March, April and May, the Season of Blossoms ; June, July and August, the Season of Fruits ; September, October and November, the Season of Hunting ; and the seasons were divided into Moons. An event occurring on a given day, for instance, the Inauguration of Grover Cleveland, the twenty-fourth President of the United States, on March 4, 1893, would, according to its rules, be chronicled in this way :

Manhattan, Season of Blossoms, 17th day of the 3d Moon, Year of Discovery the 401st, of Independence the 117th, and of the Institution of the Order the 104th.

The members of the Society were originally divided into thirteen tribes, corresponding to the number of the original States, but that division has now substantially fallen into disuse.

New York was the Eagle Tribe ; Delaware, the Tiger ; Virginia, the Deer ; Georgia, the Wolf ; North Carolina, the Buffalo ; Pennsylvania, the Bee ; Connecticut, the Beaver ; New Hampshire, the Squirrel ; Maryland, the Fox ; New Jersey, the Tortoise ; Massachusetts, the Bear ; Rhode Island, the Eel, and South Carolina, the Dog. Formerly, when the members joined the Society, they either chose the tribe to which they proposed to belong, or were assigned to one by the Grand Sachem ; but this observance has now fallen into disuse. They are all now called "Tigers," or "Tammany Tigers," probably from the characteristics which the great Chief Tammany, in his farewell legendary address to the children of his several tribes, attributed to the Tiger.

The Society elects annually thirteen Sachems, the number of the original thirteen States. One of them is elected as the Grand Sachem. This body forms the Council presided over by the Grand Sachem, which meets quarterly for the transaction of business. The



SACHEM HENRY D. PURROY, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

other officers of the Society are a Scribe, a Treasurer, a Sagamore and a Wiskinskie. The duty of the Scribe is to record the proceedings of the Society ; of the Sagamore, to take charge of its property, and of the Wiskinskie, to act as doorkeeper.

Members of the Society, other than honorary, are proposed at one meeting, elected at the next, and initiated at the next. If they fail to appear in the regular order named, they cannot come up again within three months. They must have nearly a unanimous vote to be elected. The names of honorary members are inscribed on a roll separate from the names of the active members elected as above stated. At the initiation of the Grand Sachem the "Et-hoh Song" is sung, commencing :

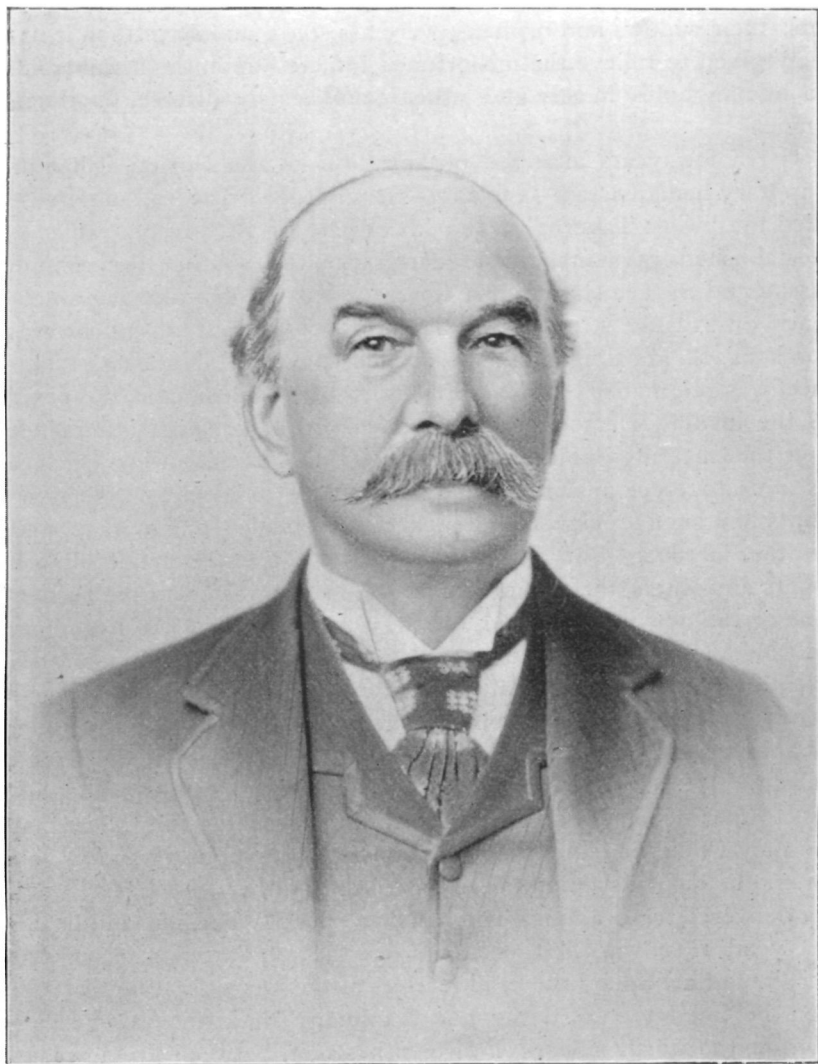
" Brothers, our Council-fire shines bright, Et-hoh."

At the initiation of a member, a different one is sung, the first stanza of which is as follows :

" Sacred's the ground where Freedom's found,
And Virtue stamps her name ;
Our hearts entwine at Friendship's shrine,
And Union fans the flame.
Our hearts, sincere,
Shall greet you here.
With joyful voice
Confirm your choice.
Et-hoh ! Et-hoh ! Et-hoh !

Every member who proposes a person for initiation is required to vouch that he is a true patriot and firmly attached to the Constitution of the United States.

The credit of the organization of the Society has been generally ascribed to William Mooney, the Society's first Grand Sachem, and a noted citizen of Olden New York. Mooney was an Irishman by descent, an American by birth, and a leader among the "Sons of Liberty," or "Sons of Tammany." After the war he went into business as an upholsterer, first on Nassau street, afterwards on Maiden lane, and still later on Chatham street. In 1805, sixteen years after its establishment, the Society was incorporated by an Act of the Legislature by the same name by which it was originally organized. The charter describes it as simply a charitable institution.



NELSON SMITH, CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Society has frequently been the means of rendering assistance to needy and worthy objects. At its earlier meetings destitute patriots, their widows and orphans, were assisted; and since then it has freely given to relieve the misfortunes inflicted upon the members of the human family in this and other countries by disease, flood and famine.

For a few years after the organization of the Society it had its temporary headquarters—wigwam—at “Barden’s Tavern,” otherwise called the “City Tavern,” in the lower part of Broadway. In 1798 it established permanent headquarters at the southeast corner of Nassau and Spruce streets, in a low, wooden building, having an entrance on Nassau street. The landlord of the establishment was Abraham B. Martling, familiarly called “Brom” Martling. This place was stigmatized by the Federalists by the name “Pig-pen.” All the leading Democrats of the day were in constant attendance upon the meetings held there. In 1811 the Society took efficient measures to erect a suitable hall for a place of meeting. Two attempts had been previously, but ineffectually, made—one in 1792, and the other in 1802. But at this time, by the efficient exertion of Col. Rogers and others, the sum of \$28,000 was subscribed, and the corner-stone of the new hall was laid, on the southwest corner of Frankfort and Nassau streets, on the 13th day of May, 1811. Abraham M. Valentine was grand marshal of the day. The members of the Society wore the bucktail in their hats, as usual, marched in Indian file, and appeared in Aboriginal costume. Clarkson Crolius was the Grand Sachem. He laid the corner-stone, and made a short and spirited address to the Sachems, warriors and members present, telling them that here they would hereafter meet to recount to the young warriors and hunters the virtuous and heroic deeds of their fathers. Alpheus Sherman delivered the oration. The hall was speedily finished, and in the next year, 1812, was first occupied as the regular wigwam of the Society, and continued the headquarters of the Democracy until 1867, when the Society erected the new Tammany Hall, the present wigwam, on the north side of Fourteenth street, between Irving place and Third avenue, which it has ever since occupied, and which is still the headquarters of the Democracy of the City of New York.



MICHAEL T. DALY, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS.

CHAPTER VI.

TAMMANY BRAVES AND THE CREEK INDIAN' CHIEFS.

In 1790 there occurred one of the most interesting events in the annals of the Society, which illustrates the benefits of one of the purposes for which it was founded.

The Creek Indians in the Carolinas and Georgia were continually harassing the white settlers in those States, and the Government had tried, but in vain, to form a treaty of friendship with them. An ingenious plan was devised in February, 1790, to lure their great Chief, Alexander McGillivray, an educated half-breed, to New York City, for the purpose of making a treaty of peace with him, and thereby avert the calamities of war. On the 10th of March, Washington had an interview with Col. Marinus Willett, who promised to undertake the mission to the Creeks. On the 1st of July the President received official information that Willett was on his return, accompanied by McGillivray and twenty-eight of his principal Chiefs and warriors, and had advanced as far as Hopewell, in South Carolina. Messages were at once sent to the Governors of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, requesting them to show every possible attention to the travelers, at the public expense.

Their arrival in New York created a sensation. The members of the Tammany Society, arrayed in Indian costume, went out to meet them with the military, and escorted them to the house of Secretary Knox, where they were received with great ceremony. They were then taken and introduced to Washington, and then to Governor Clinton, after which they were taken by the Tammany Sachems to the temporary wigwam at "Barden's Tavern."

It is related that directly upon the Indian Chief McGillivray seeing the Tammany Braves, he took to the wigwam "like a duck to water"; from which some observing critic has suggested that McGillivray must have been born a Democrat.

McGillivray and his Associate Chiefs remained in the city for nearly six weeks. A military review by Washington for their benefit occurred on Col. Cruger's grounds, July 27, which was attended by the prominent men of the day, including Jefferson, then Secretary of State, Gov. Clinton, and a large array of officers in full uniform.

On the 2d of August the Indian Chiefs were entertained with a

great banquet, at which were present all the notable statesmen of the time. The Tammany Braves enlivened the occasion with songs, and the Creek Sachems danced. The orators of both parties made long speeches, and wine flowed freely.

Washington dined several of the Chiefs one day at his own table, and after the meal invited them to walk down Broadway. They were taken to the Tammany Wigwam, where a full sized portrait of McGillivray, painted by Trumbull, the artist, was on exhibition. The Indians, upon beholding it, stood stiff and mute with astonishment. McGillivray advanced and touched the cold, flat surface with his hand, and exclaimed "Ugh!" Each of the others slowly followed his example, and all turned away, suspicious of the art which had imprinted a great chief, dressed for battle and standing beside his war horse, upon a strip of canvas.

Secretary Knox, after some time spent in preliminaries, succeeded in negotiating a satisfactory treaty, which was ratified in Federal Hall, with great ceremony, on the 13th of August. Washington and his suite appeared at noon of that day in the Hall of Representatives, and presently the Tammany Sachems ushered in McGillivray and his Chiefs, adorned with their finest feathers. The treaty was read and interpreted, and the President, in a short, forcible speech, explained the justice of its various provisions, to each of which the Indian potentates grunted approval. McGillivray made a short speech in reply. The treaty was duly signed. Washington presented the Chieftain with a string of wampum, for a memorial, with a paper of tobacco as a substitute for the ancient calumet, and then came a general shaking of hands, and the ceremonies were concluded by a "Song of Peace," in which the Tammany Sachems and the Creek Indians joined in their own peculiar fashion.

CHAPTER VII.

TAMMANY'S CELEBRATION OF THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

On the 12th day of October, 1792, the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, celebrated the 300th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus—the first celebration of the event in this country.

The following account of the celebration is taken from the address

of Edward F. De Lancy, delivered October 4, 1892, before the New York Historical Society :

On October 10, 1792, each member received the following notice: The members of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, are hereby notified that an extra meeting will be held in the Wigwam, the 12th inst., at seven o'clock, to celebrate the third century since the discovery of America by Columbus.

By order of the Grand Sachem,

BENJAMIN STRONG,

OCTOBER 10, 1792.

Scribe.

The society accordingly met at the Wigwam, and an address was delivered by Mr. John B. Johnston, which was followed by a dinner and the drinking of appropriate toasts. Previous to the meeting there was displayed at the Wigwam an illuminated monument in honor of Columbus, erected by the Society. The following is an account of it, and the celebration, written at the time, which is of more interest than any briefer statement of my own :

"NEW YORK, October 17, 1792.

The 12th inst., being the commencement of the IV. COLUMBIAN CENTURY, was observed as a Century Festival by the Tammany Society, and celebrated in that style of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution. In the evening a monument was erected to the memory of Columbus, ornamented by transparency with a variety of suitable devices.

This beautiful exhibition was exposed for the gratification of the public curiosity some time previous to the meeting of the society.

An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. John B. Johnston, in which several of the principal events in the life of this remarkable man were pathetically described, and the interesting consequences, to which his great achievements had already conducted, and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory.

During the evening's entertainment, a variety of rational amusements were enjoyed. The following are some of the toasts which were drank :

'The memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this new world.'

'May the new world never experience the vices and miseries of the old ; and be a happy asylum for the oppressed of all nations and of all religions.'

'May peace and liberty ever pervade the United Columbian States.'

'May this be the last centenary festival of the Columbian Order that finds a slave on this globe.'

'May the fourth century be as remarkable for the improvement and knowledge of the rights of man, as the first was for discovery and the improvement of nautic science.'

'May the deliverers of America never experience that ingratitude from their country which Columbus experienced from his King.'

'May the genius of liberty, as she has conducted the sons of Columbia with glory to the commencement of the fourth century, guard their fame to the end of time.'



JOHN J. GORMAN, SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK AND FATHER
OF THE COUNCIL OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

Several moral and patriotic songs, inculcating the Love of Country and of Freedom, were gratifying in the highest degree. Among others an ode was composed and sung on the occasion (some stanzas of which are here given) :

Ye sons of freedom, hail the day,
That brought a second world to view ;
To great Columbus' mem'ry pay
The praise and honor justly due.

Chorus : Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did oppression o'er the world,
Her sanguine banners wide display :
Dark bigotry her thunders hurl'd,
And freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants called the world their own.

Thus heaven our race with pity viewed ;
Resolved bright freedom to restore ;
And, heaven directed o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the bless'd land with rays divine,
She shone, and shall forever shine.

Hark ! from above, the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along,
"Columbia ever shall be free,"
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots revere the great decree.
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall enthusiastic love,
Which freemen to their country owe ;
Enkindled, glorious from above,
In every patriot bosom glow,
Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The Rights of Man shall here remain.

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray ;
Religion's purest flames ascend,
And peace shall crown each happy day.
Then while we keep this jubilee,
While seated 'round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty that gift divine."

The monument is upwards of fourteen feet in height, being well illuminated, and resembling black marble ; it blended, in an agreeable manner, a grave and solemn with a brilliant appearance. At the base a globe appears, emerging out of the clouds and chaos, presenting a rude sketch of the once uncultivated coast of America. On its pyramidal part, History is seen drawing up the curtain of oblivion, which discovers the four following representations :

First, and on the right side of the obelisk, is presented a commercial port, and an expanding ocean ; here Columbus, while musing over the insignia of geometry and navigation, the favorite studies of his youth, is instructed by Science to cross the great Atlantic. She appears in luminous clouds, hovering over its skirts ; with one hand she presents Columbus with a compass, and with the other, she points to the setting sun. Under her feet is seen a sphere, the eastern half of which is made to represent the then known terraqueous globe ; the western is left a blank. On the pedestal is the following inscription :

THIS MONUMENT
WAS ERECTED BY THE
TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR, COLUMBIAN ORDER
OCTOBER 12, MDCCXCII,
TO COMMEMORATE
THE IVTH COLUMBIAN CENTURY :
AN INTERESTING AND ILLUSTRIOUS
ÆRA.

On the upper part of the obelisk is seen the arms of Genoa, supported by the beak of a prone eagle. The second side, or front, of the monument shows the first landing of Columbus. He is represented in a state of adoration : his followers prostrate as supplicants around him, and a group of American natives at a distance. Historical truth is attended to, and the inscription on the pedestal is as follows :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
THE DISCOVERER OF A NEW WORLD,
OCTOBER 12, 1492.

Above, the arms of Europe and America are blended and supported as on the right side of the monument,

The third or left side exhibits the splendid reception of Columbus by the Court of Spain, on his first return from America. He is seated at the right hand of Ferdinand, and his illustrious patroness Isabella. A map of the newly discovered countries, and some of their peculiar productions, lying at his feet, distinguishes the interesting

scene. Above, the prone eagle supports the arms of Isabella, and on the pedestal is the following inscription :

COLUMBUS
WAS BORN AT GENOA,
1447;
WAS RECEIVED BY THE COURT OF SPAIN
IN TRIUMPH,
1493;
WAS PUT IN CHAINS BY ITS ORDER,
SEPTEMBER, 1500;
DIED AT VALLADOLID
MAY 20, 1506.

The last scene, exhibited on the rear, or fourth, side of the obelisk, strongly contrasts with the one just described ; Columbus is seen in his chamber pensive and neglected. The chains with which he had been cruelly loaded hang against its bare walls, on which is seen written, "The ingratitude of Kings." To cheer his declining moments, the *Genius of Liberty* appears before him : the glory which surrounds him seems to illuminate his solitary habitation. The emblems of despotism and superstition are crushed beneath her feet ; and, to intimate the gratitude and respect of posterity, she points to a monument, sacred to his memory, reared by the Columbian Order. On the pedestal, Nature is seen caressing her various progeny ; her tawny offspring seem to mourn over the urn of Columbus. The upper part of the obelisk is embellished as on the other sides. But the eagle, as an emblem of civil government, is seen no longer prone, or loaded with the decorations of heraldry : she soars in an open sky, grasping in her talons a ferule, inscribed,

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

CHAPTER VIII.

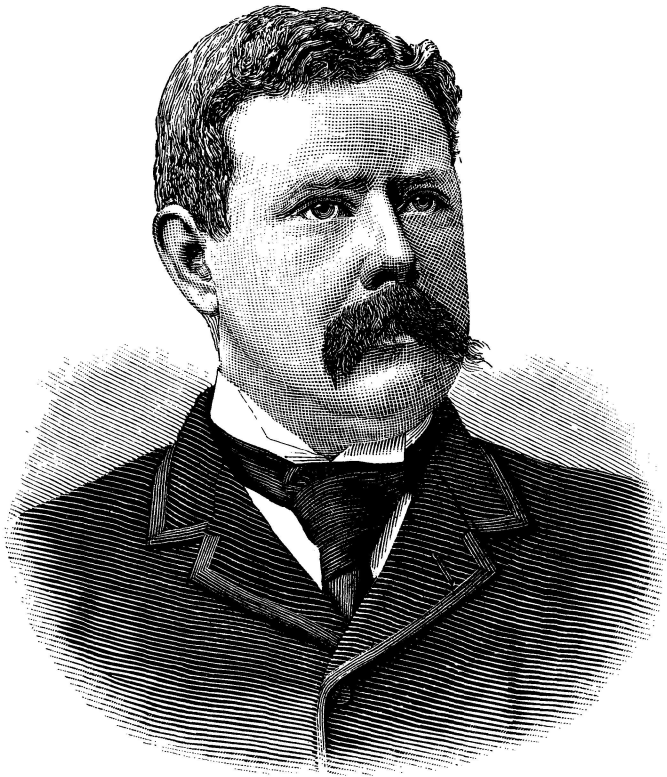
TAMMANY SOCIETY AND THE VICTIMS OF BRITISH PRISON SHIPS AT THE WALLABOUT.

(In part from Valentine's Manual, 1845.)

After many attempts to induce Congress to take action, the Tammany Society, in 1808, determined to perform a duty of patriotism which will ever be recalled in its honor.

Since the Revolution, the bones of those who died on board of the prison ships at the Wallabout, had been permitted to bleach upon the shore.

This inhumanity has been often censured in the severest terms. From the most reliable accounts not less than 11,500 souls perished on board the various ships which were moored in the East River,



SACHEM WILLIAM H CLARK, COUNSEL TO THE CORPORATION,
CITY OF NEW YORK.

while the British, during the Revolution, had possession of New York.

It has been related that Paine predicted that before America would submit to the unjust demands upon her by Great Britain, the bones of three millions of her citizens would whiten the shores of their country, and the bones of 11,500 had indeed whitened the shores of the Wallabout.

It is not intended at this time to describe their sufferings, but we cannot refrain from making a short extract from the poem of Philip Freneau, the cleverest bard of our Revolutionary era, and the roommate in college of President Madison, which so forcibly and pointedly tells the story of their woes :

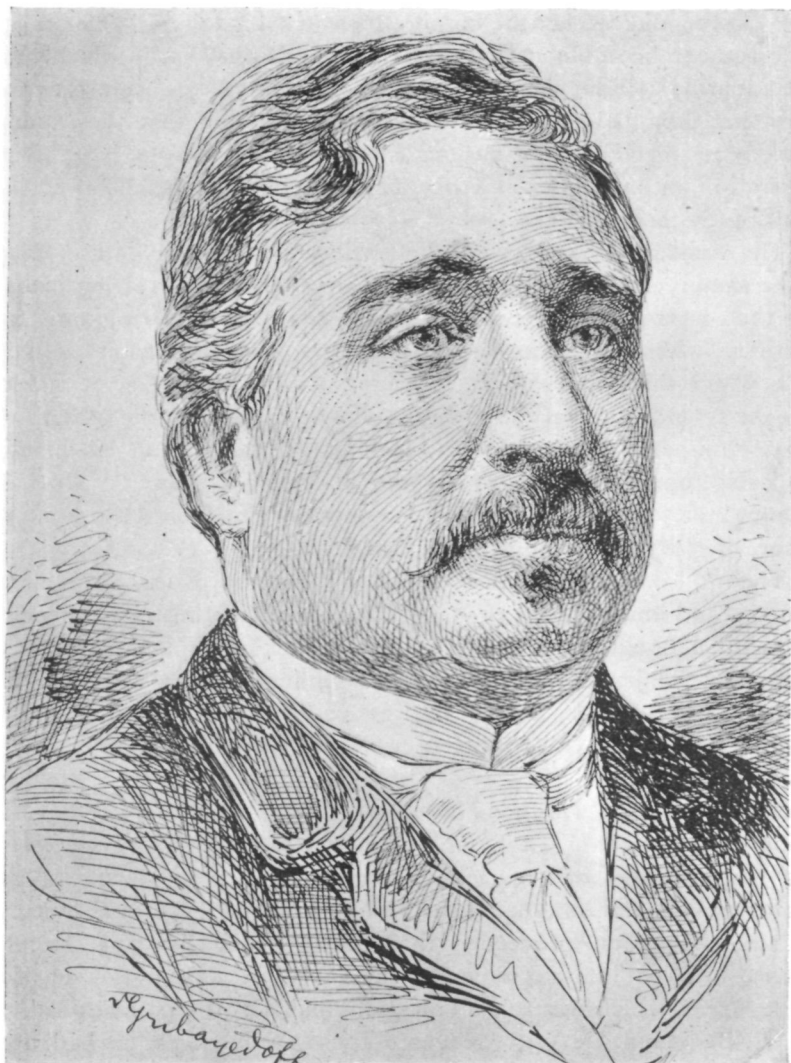
“ Each day at least six carcases we bore,
And scratched them graves along the sandy shore.
By feeble hands the shallow graves were made—
No stone memorial o’er their corpses laid,
In barren sands and far away from home they lie—
No friend to shed a tear in passing by.
O’er the mean tombs insulting Britons tread,
Spurn at the sand, and curse the rebel dead.”

To collect the bones of these martyrs and provide a suitable place for their deposit was the object to which the Tammany Society addressed itself.

In making improvements near the Navy Yard, a number of casks and boxes had been filled with these remains and preserved by John Jackson, Esq., for interment. A great many persons had repeatedly suggested that some suitable place should be provided for them.

The Tammany Society took up the subject as early as 1803, and finally, in 1807, no action having been taken by Congress, appointed a committee called the “ Wallabout Committee ” to take measures for carrying the long contemplated design of interment into effect.

The Wallabout Committee reported in February, 1808, and immediately measures were taken to carry into effect their suggestions. The corner-stone of the tomb was laid on the 13th of April, 1808, when a grand and imposing procession was formed under the direction of Major Aycregg, Grand Marshal. The military companies and civic societies united with the Tammany, and proceeded to the spot, where Joseph D. Fay, Esq., the orator of the day, delivered an eloquent and



CONGRESSMAN W. BOURKE COCKRAN.

impassioned oration. Referring to those who had perished for the love they bore their country, he said :

“ On this day we lay the corner-stone of their tomb. Their ashes hitherto have been blown about like summer’s dust in the whirlwind. But a marble column shall rise on this spot and tell to future ages the story that they had to choose death or slavery, and that they nobly elected the former. The curious mariner shall point to it in silent admiration, as he passes at a distance, and posterity shall call it the tomb of the patriots.”

The vault being completed, the Society fixed on the 25th of May of the same year for consigning the bones to their final resting place ; but the ceremony was postponed, on account of a storm, until the next day, when one of the largest and most magnificent funeral pageants which this city has ever witnessed took place. Garret Sickles was the Grand Marshal of the day. The first feature in the procession was a trumpeter, mounted on a black horse, carrying in his hand a black flag, upon which was inscribed in letters of gold : “ Mortals, Avaunt ! 11,500 spirits of the martyred brave ; approach the tomb of honor, of glory, of virtuous patriotism.”

Then followed the military, under command of Brigadier-General Morton, and immediately after the Wallabout Committee, each member with a bucktail in his hat. Then came the Tammany Society, headed by Benjamin Romaine, Grand Sachem, with all the insignia of their Order, making a most impressive display.

The Municipal Governments of New York and Brooklyn came next.

DeWitt Clinton was then Mayor of the City—followed by the Governor of the State, D. D. Tompkins, and Lieutenant-Governor John Broome, members of Congress, Military and Naval Officers of the United States, and, finally, all the various civic societies of the city.

The procession proceeded through the then principal streets, crossed to Brooklyn and moved to the vault in Hudson Avenue, near York Street, which was to contain the remains of the patriot dead.

Dr. Benjamin De Witt delivered the oration, which he had prepared at the request of the Tammany Society. After its conclusion, the coffins were deposited in the tomb, and the procession returned to the city.

In performing this act, the Tammany Society felt the disgrace



CONGRESSMAN JOHN R. FELLOWS.

which justly attached to our country for the neglect which it showed to the memory of these departed patriots, and they determined to wipe away the stain.

It is to be hoped that a suitable monument may yet be erected in honor of the martyred dead, and that Congress may be inspired to perform this patriotic duty.

CHAPTER IX.

TAMMANY HALL AND THE WAR OF 1812.

Tammany Hall was a vigorous supporter of the War of 1812, and, during the war, the Wigwam was the headquarters of those in this State who favored its energetic prosecution. Upon several occasions, when this city was threatened with an attack from British troops, the members of the Tammany Society offered their services to the Committee of Defense, and repaired in a body to the forts, and performed patriotic labor in the work of building intrenchments at Harlem, at Brooklyn Heights, and at Greenwich Barracks.

The principles involved in the war, and maintained by the United States, were the very ones for which the Sons of Liberty and the Sons of Tammany had fought in the Revolution, and to promote which the Tammany Society had been organized. The American Revolution had only given the people of the United States their independence on land. Great Britain, after the Treaty of Peace of 1783, still claimed and exercised arbitrary power on the sea, not only against us, but against all nations.

The immediate cause of the war was this: It transpired that in the long wars between Great Britain and France, growing out of the French Revolution, commencing in 1793, and continuing, with slight intermission, for more than twenty years, the ranks of the British forces had become thinned on both land and sea, and the commanders of British warships found our merchant vessels a convenient recruiting ground.

The high-handed man-stealing operations were conducted in this wise: A British cruiser, short of men, would bring to and board an American vessel engaged in lawful commerce, under the pretence of the right of search for goods contraband of war, and, once aboard,



COL. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK BOARD OF ALDERMEN,
SON OF THE LATE GEN. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

the British officers would seize American seamen, on the alleged ground that they were British subjects.

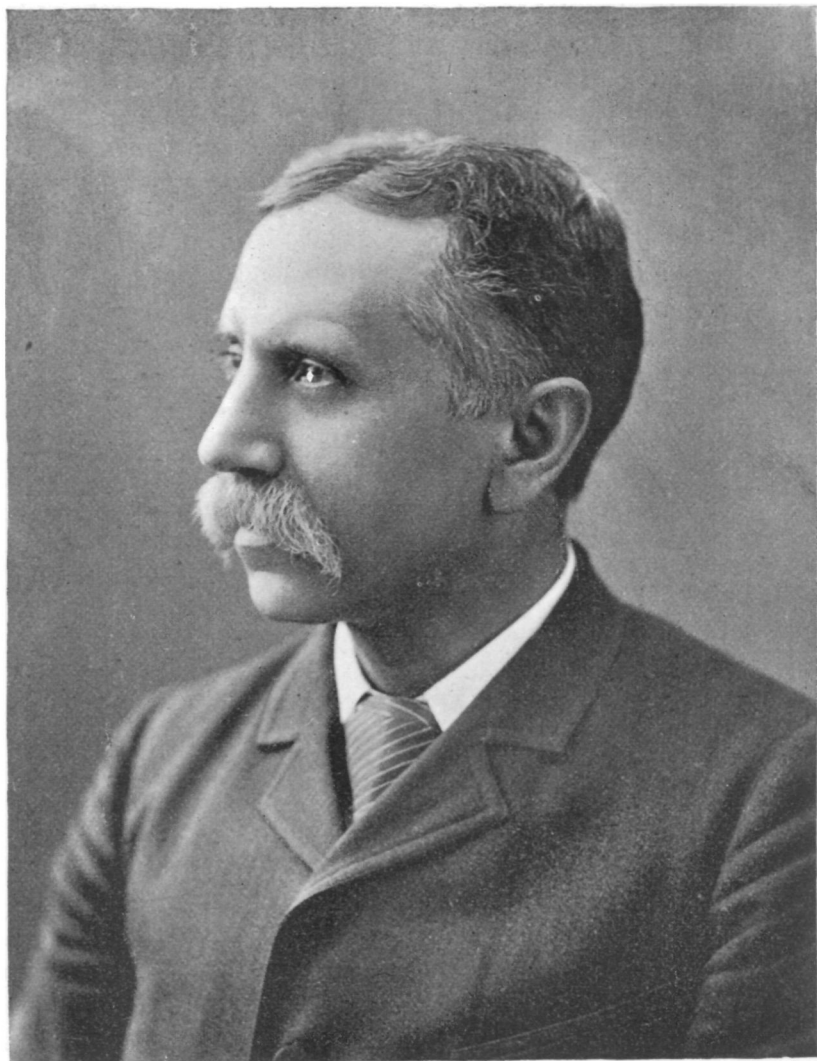
The British claim was this : That a person once a British subject was always a British subject ; that he could not, by any act of his own, nor by any act of any other nation, ever release himself from his allegiance to the British Crown. In other words, Great Britain denied the right of expatriation, and insisted that the circumstance of the birth of a person under the British flag made him a subject and slave to the British Crown forever, and that, as every nation, for its own preservation, had the right to enforce the services of its own citizens or subjects, which was not denied, she had the right to seize her subjects wherever she could find them.

Great Britain also claimed the right to seize and confiscate our merchant vessels for trading with France, her enemy, although not able, herself, to maintain a blockade of French ports.

The United States earnestly, but unavailingly, protested against these high-handed wrongs. We had, from almost the beginning, adopted as our national policy, that our ships on the high seas were to be regarded as within our exclusive jurisdiction—as if a part of our territory—not subject to invasion or search, nor our seamen in any case liable to seizure ; and that any foreigner, after five years' residence and compliance with certain forms, might renounce his allegiance to the nation of his birth, and become a citizen of the United States as completely as if he were native born.

Great Britain, however, had never recognized the correctness of our policy, notwithstanding it was founded upon the great doctrine of natural rights and of universal liberty. Under her claim our entire merchant marine was placed in constant jeopardy. Any merchant vessel engaged in lawful commercial pursuits was liable, at any moment, in any part of the broad expanse of the ocean, to be boarded and overhauled by a British cruiser short of men. The only judges to determine respecting the national character of any seaman, whether he was a British subject, were the British commanders themselves, and there was no appeal from their decision.

There never was any way to obtain exact information of the whole number of American seamen stolen by British cruisers ; but, from the best official estimate, they numbered in the aggregate, before the war was declared, nearly as many as would be sufficient to man the whole British navy at that day.



REGISTER FERDINAND LEVY.

Before declaring open war, we exhausted every other means to stop the high-handed outrages.

In 1806, by the advice of Jefferson, who was then President, Congress passed what was called the "Non-Importation Act," and in 1807 the "Embargo Act." The Non-Importation Act prohibited the importation of British goods. The Embargo Act prohibited all vessels in the ports of the United States from sailing for any foreign port, except foreign ships in ballast, or with cargoes taken on board before notification of the Act, and coastwise vessels were required to give heavy bonds to land their cargoes in the United States.

But these measures did not stop British outrages. They went on as before, and in 1812 Congress declared war against Great Britain.

The quarrel itself was attended with varying results during its progress. We invaded Canada; the British captured, sacked and burned Washington. The victories and defeats, as respects the contending armies, were very nearly equally divided.

The Southern, Western and Middle States, including New York, of course, and Tammany Hall, as standing in the front ground, favored a vigorous prosecution of the war. The Eastern States opposed it, and it is related that extremists in Massachusetts sang songs for a return to the British flag. The meeting called the "Hartford Convention" was held in opposition to the war; it was a disgraceful affair.

Under the severe pressure of the opposition, a treaty of peace, not creditable to the United States, was concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, which omitted any guaranty against the search of American vessels, or the seizure and impressment of American seamen, or any other provision against a recurrence of the outrages for which the war had been waged. But, as if by the hand of Providence, intelligence of this treaty of peace, neither steam nor electricity having been utilized, did not reach American or British generals in this country until the Battle of New Orleans had been fought, January 8, 1815.

That battle was a decisive battle. The victory won by Gen. Jackson, in its results, was a complete guaranty against the search of American vessels, or the impressment of American seamen, as completely so, in fact, as if the previous treaty had contained most explicit provisions against such depredations. Great Britain never



HUGH J. GRANT, EX-MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

renewed her claim of the right of seizure and impressment upon the high seas, and has since acknowledged the justice of the American claim, and it has, by common consent, as it were, become the established law of nations.

The result of the war of 1812 may be said to have secured the enjoyment of equal rights upon the sea, freed from the depredations of any one country as against another. The right of expatriation is acknowledged by Great Britain, and almost, if not universally, by all nations.

All honor to Tammany Hall for the part it played in support of that great war, by which our independence was achieved on the sea, as it had previously been on the land. General Jackson's victory at New Orleans gave the Democracy the ascendancy for over a quarter of a century.

CHAPTER X.

TAMMANY HALL THE CHAMPION OF THE CAUSE OF THE MASSES.

Space will not admit of more than a brief mention of many of the other achievements of Tammany Hall, as a patriotic or political organization, in fostering the love of liberty and the spirit of National Independence, and in maintaining the cause of the masses.

The Tammany Society was the first to celebrate Washington's birthday after his inauguration as President in 1789.

It has never omitted the celebration of the birthday of our National Independence — the 4th of July — and, as is believed, is the only Society in the United States which has always performed that patriotic duty.

The first Constitution of the State, adopted in 1777, had limited the right to vote by a property qualification, whereby the great mass of the people stood disfranchised. The influence of Tammany Hall was exerted in the most successful way in framing the Constitutions of 1821 and 1846, extending the ballot and establishing the system of manhood suffrage, as we have it in this State to-day.

At different times and by various names, such as "American Party," "Know-Nothing Party," and others, which need not now be

mentioned in particular, it has been attempted to proscribe persons not born in the United States, and to prevent their becoming citizens, or to delay their admission as such by a very extended term; but Tammany Hall has always vigorously opposed all attempts at proscription, and has maintained our wise and liberal National policy, which has always welcomed to our shores and invited to our citizenship the down-trodden people of other nations, except thieves, paupers and Chinese.

Tammany Hall has always been opposed to monopolies, to class legislation, to all laws to favor an individual, or class of individuals, over the other members of the community in the acquisition of wealth, or in the enjoyment of special privileges.

It is matter of history that Tammany Hall has always stood firmly for the preservation of the Union, and against every influence which would sever its bonds, or mar the fraternal and kindly relations that should exist between the great family of States.

During the Civil War the Tammany Society fitted out and sent a fully equipped regiment to the field of battle, known as the "Tammany Regiment," and the members of the organization raised other regiments and brigades for the war.

Tammany Hall has always stood for the cause of labor, and has championed every reasonable measure which the Labor Organizations themselves devised for the improvement of the condition of the masses.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAY TAMMANY HALL IS ORGANIZED AT PRESENT.

The organization of Tammany Hall springs directly from the people, and is composed of regular committees for the whole City of New York as follows :

- A General Committee.
- A Committee on Organization.
- An Executive Committee.
- A Finance Committee.
- A Committee on Correspondence.
- A Naturalization Committee.
- A Printing Committee.

The City is divided by law into thirty Assembly Districts.

There is in each of these Assembly Districts a District Committee. Each Assembly District is in turn divided by law into Election Districts.

A primary election is held in each of the Assembly Districts in the early part of January of each year, for the election of delegates to represent the District in the General Committee and for the election of the members of the District Committee, pursuant to the call of the General Committee of the preceding year.

The call fixes the place, and appoints the time for the holding of such primary election, and, on the nomination of the representatives of the District, names the inspectors who are to receive and canvass the votes, and certify the result. All of the voters of the District in sympathy with the doctrines of the Democratic party are eligible to vote at such election. The ballots for such primary election contain the names of candidates for delegates to the General Committee, and of candidates for members of the District Committee, respectively. They have printed upon them the time and place for the meeting of each body in the District for the purposes of organization, and the time of the meeting of the delegates to the General Committee at Tammany Hall for the like purpose.

Immediately on the close of the election, the inspectors, who are required to act under oath, canvass the votes and make a certificate showing the result. At the time and place designated on the ballot for the meeting in the Assembly District of the delegates to the General Committee, for the purpose of organization, they assemble and organize by electing a chairman and secretary, and by selecting from their body one of their number as the representative of the District in the Executive Committee, and of a certain number (fixed by the rules of the General Committee) as representatives of the District in the Committee on Organization.

At the time designated on the ballot for the meeting of the General Committee, the delegates to it from the several Assembly Districts meet at Tammany Hall, and organize by electing a chairman, four general secretaries, one vice-chairman and one secretary from each Assembly District and a sergeant-at-arms.

The Chairman of the General Committee appoints the other committees, except the Committee on Organization and the Executive Committee.

The Committee on Organization is composed of the delegates to the General Committee from each Assembly District selected for that purpose. Its officers are a chairman, a vice-chairman, a reading secretary, three recording secretaries, two corresponding secretaries and a sergeant-at-arms.

The Executive Committee is composed of one delegate from each Assembly District, selected for that purpose by the delegates of the district to the General Committee, and approved by the Committee on Organization. Its officers are a chairman and a secretary.

The Chairman of the General Committee, of the Committee on Organization, of the Finance Committee and of the Committee on Correspondence are *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

We will now turn our attention back to the District Committee of the Assembly Districts. It is composed of the members elected by ballot as such at the primary election, and also of the members of the General Committee from the district.

The officers of the District Committee consist of a chairman, two secretaries, a treasurer, five or more vice-chairmen and one captain for each Election District, as may be provided by the rules of the District Committee.

The Captains of the Election Districts are selected by the District Committees, and are usually appointed a month or two before the general election in each year. There is assigned to their assistance from ten to twenty-five Lieutenants or Aids, as circumstances may require. It is their duty to acquire a knowledge of all the voters in their Election District, and to promote by all proper means the success of the Democracy at the polls. They are held responsible to the District Committee for the management of their Election Districts, respectively.

There is in every Assembly District a regular headquarters of the District Committee, which is always kept open for the members of the Organization in the District.

In nearly all the districts there is, in addition to the regular headquarters of the District Committee, a club-house, organized to promote the welfare of the Democratic party. In some of the Districts the club-house is used for the accommodation of the District Committee. Nearly all these club-houses bear Indian names, or the names of Jefferson, or Jackson, or other distinguished Democrats.

Many of these club-houses have been specially erected for the purpose, and are fitted up with all the comforts and conveniences of modern club-houses. Their attractions have aided greatly in the cultivation of friendships between the members of the Democratic family, in the study and advancement of Democratic doctrines, and in binding the members of the great organization together in unity and harmony.

Such is a brief sketch of Tammany Hall.

There never before was a time, in its long history of over a hundred years, that it enjoyed a more enviable reputation than it does to-day, not only in the city, but throughout the State and Nation.

Well may we say that it "wears without corival all its dignities."



RICHARD CROKER ON POLITICS.

TAMMANY HALL AND THE DEMOCRACY.

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No political party can with reason expect to obtain power, or to maintain itself in power, unless it be efficiently organized. Between the aggressive forces of two similar groups of ideas, one entertained by a knot of theorists, the other enunciated by a well-compacted organization, there is such a difference as exists between a mob and a military battalion. The mob is fickle, bold, and timid by turns, and even in different portions it is at the same time swayed by conflicting emotions. In fact, it is a mere creature of emotion, while the drilled and compacted battalion is animated and supported by purpose and scientific plan. It has leaders, and these leaders are known to every man in the ranks and possess their confidence. It is thus that a single company of infantry is able to quell almost any popular outbreak in a city ; and a regiment is completely master of the situation, even if it be outnumbered by the malcontents in the proportion of ten or twenty to one.

The value of organization in the case of political parties does not appear so obviously upon the surface ; but in point of fact organization is one of the main factors of success, and without it there can be no enduring result. In the immense Republic of the United States, which is really a congress or union of over forty separate republics, each having its interests more or less dissociated from those of the others, and yet acknowledging the bond of a common political interest, the organization of a national party must, to a large extent, be based upon a system of deferential compromise, and be an aggregation. The Democrat of New York and the Democrat of Iowa are agreed upon certain fundamental doctrines, and in order to put

these in action, they forbear to press the acceptance of ideas as to which they are at variance. They only vote for the same candidate once in four years. At other elections they choose governors, representatives, etc., who are at liberty to entertain widely different views as to the extent to which certain political theories should be made to operate. Thus, an ultra tariff reformer from Nebraska and a very mild tariff reformer from some redeemed district of Pennsylvania or Massachusetts may each be an excellent Democrat at home ; and they may vote harmoniously as congressmen on national questions, but the two are not as strong and effective as if they were both members of some political club with one watchword and one purpose.

No great army ever has the cohesive power of a regiment. The larger the mass the less perfectly do its members know the habits and purposes of its leader, having no close personal contact with him ; but in the regiment, which is the unit and type of military strength, every private knows his captain and his colonel as well. In the course of service he sees all his comrades and officers in array ; he sees the officers advance and salute the commander and that salute returned, and thus experiences the spirit and purpose that animate the entire body. This feeling of common purpose is the supreme aim of military organization in the direction of effectiveness ; and a compacted and select political club or society is governed by the same processes.

It does not detract at all from the truth of this statement that local political organizations composed largely of depraved men of revolutionary tendencies have often been powerful engines in government. It rather proves the essential verity of the principle, and indicates the necessity of a sound, political basis. Cavalry is an important and powerful factor in war, whether it consists of a horde of Scythian robbers following some incarnate fiend of strife, or of a gallant " Six Hundred " charging down some Valley of Death in obedience to a mistaken order and led by a fearless and trained leader. When we consider the ghastly turmoil of the French Revolution we cannot fail to admire the success, the influence, the resistless power of the Jacobin Club, not because the club was praiseworthy, since its actions were abhorrent, but because it was skillfully organized and handled. When its representatives sat in the convention they knew their orders,

and they were also conscious that it was their business to carry them out. They acted upon the principle that obedience to orders is the first duty of the soldier, and that "politics is war." Chess is war, business is war, the rivalry of students and of athletes is war. Everything is war in which men strive for mastery and power as against other men, and this is one of the essential conditions of progress.

The City of New York to-day contains a political organization which, in respect of age, skillful management, unity of purpose, devotion to correct principles, public usefulness, and, finally, success, has no superior, and, in my opinion, no equal in political affairs the world over. I mean the Tammany Democracy. I do not propose to defend the Tammany organization; neither do I propose to defend sunrise as an exhibition of celestial mechanics nor a democratic form of government as an illustration of human liberty at its best. In the campaign of 1891 almost the only argument used by the Republicans against the Democrats was the assertion that Flower was a candidate of a corrupt political club, and that club was named Tammany. Tammany was accused of every vice and crime known to Republican orators; it was a fountain-head of corruption; it was because of it that every farmer throughout the State could not at once pay off his mortgages; it took forty millions annually from the citizens of New York and gave them nothing in exchange for it. To the credit of the Democrats let us note the fact that, while this torrent of abuse was being poured upon the heads of voters, Democrats did as the inhabitants of Spain are said to do when the clouds are opened—"they let it rain." Nobody apologized for the misdeeds of the alleged malefactor; the Democrats went before the people on legitimate issues, and the result of the affair was expressed in the figures, 47,937 majority. I doubt if the Democracy would have fared anything like as well if they had defended or apologized or explained away. "He who excuses himself accuses himself" is a time-worn proverb. They let Mr. Fassett shout himself hoarse over "Tammany corruption," and they won the victory.

In fact, such a defensive attitude would have been wholly at variance with the basis on which the Tammany Democracy acts. A well-organized political club is made for the purpose of aggressive warfare. It must move, and it must always move forward against its enemies. If it makes mistakes it leaves them behind and goes ahead. If it is

encumbered by useless baggage or half-hearted or traitorous camp-followers it cuts them off and goes ahead. While it does not claim to be exempt from error, it does claim to be always aiming at success by proper and lawful methods, and to have the good of the general community always in view as its end of effort. Such an organization has no time or place for apologies or excuses, and to indulge in them would hazard its existence and certainly destroy its usefulness.

The City and County of New York comprise a population of nearly two millions, and furnish the business arena for near-by residents who represent two millions more. The political party, then, that is uppermost in New York legislates locally for the largest municipal constituency on the planet except one. The task is clearly one of enormous magnitude, and demands a combination of skill, enterprise, knowledge, resolution, and what is known as "executive ability," which cannot be at once made to order, and cannot be furnished by any body of theorists, no matter how full may be their pockets or how righteous may be their intentions. Since the Whig party went out of existence the Democrats have administered the affairs of New York County, rarely even losing the Mayoralty except on personal grounds, always having the majority in the Board of Aldermen, and as a rule the Sheriff's and County Clerk's offices. And at the same time the guiding force of the New York Democracy has proceeded from the Tammany organization.

As one of the members of this organization, I simply do what all its members are ready to do as occasion offers, and that is, to stand by its principles and affirm its record. We assert, to begin with, that its system is admirable in theory and works excellently well in practice.

There are now twenty-four* Assembly Districts in the county, which are represented in an Executive Committee by one member from each district, whose duty it is to oversee all political movements in his district, from the sessions of the primaries down to the final counting of the ballots after the election polls are closed. This member of the Executive Committee is a citizen of repute, always a man of ability and good executive training. If he were not he could not be permitted to take or hold the place. If he goes to sleep or commits overt acts that shock public morality he is compelled to resign.

* Since Mr. Croker wrote this article the new reapportionment has increased the number of Assembly Districts from twenty-four to thirty.

Such casualties rarely occur, because they are not the natural growth of the system of selection which the organization practices ; but when Tammany discovers a deceased growth in her organization, it is a matter of record that she does not hesitate at its extirpation.

Coincident with the plan that all the Assembly Districts shall be thoroughly looked after by experienced leaders who are in close touch with the Central Committees, is the development of the doctrine that the laborer is worthy of his hire ; in other words, that good work is worth paying for, and in order that it may be good must be paid for. The affairs of a vast community are to be administered. Skillful men must administer them. These men must be compensated. The principle is precisely the same as that which governs the workings of a railway, or a bank, or a factory ; and it is an illustration of the operation of sophistries and unsound moralities, so much in vogue among our closet reformers, that any persons who have outgrown the kindergarten should shut their eyes to this obvious truth. Now, since there must be officials, and since these officials must be paid, and well paid, in order to insure able and constant service, why should they not be selected from the membership of the society that organizes the victories of the dominant party ?

In my opinion, to ask this question is to answer it. And I add that the statement made by the enemies of Tammany that "Tammany stands by its friends," is, in fact, praise, although intended for abuse. Tammany does stand by its friends, and it always will until some such change occurs in human affairs as will make it praiseworthy and beneficial that a man or an association should stand by his or its enemies. We are willing to admit that the logical result of this principle of action would be that all the employees of the city government, from the Mayor to the porter who makes the fire in his office, should be members of the Tammany organization. This would not be to their discredit. And if any one of them commits a malfeasance, he is just as responsible to the people as though he were lifted bodily out of the "Union League" or some transient "Citizens' Reform Association," and he will at once find himself outside of the Tammany membership also.

Fearfully and wonderfully made are the tales that are sent out into the rural districts touching the evil effects of "Tammany rule." The trembling countryman on arriving in New York expects to fall into a

quagmire of muddy streets, and while struggling through these quicksands he fears the bunco man on one side and the sandbagger on the other. Reaching some hotel, he counts on being murdered in his bed unless he double lock his door. That his landlord should swindle him is a foregone conclusion. And when no adventure happens, and he reaches home in safety, he points to himself, among his neighbors, as a rare specimen of a survival of the dangers that accompany the sway of a Democratic majority in New York.

The facts are that New York is a centre to which the criminal element of the entire country gravitates, simply because it offers at once a lucrative field for crime and a safe hiding place. Therefore to preserve social order and "keep the peace" in New York demands more ability and more policemen than are required in country solitudes. It is safe to say that any right-minded citizen who attends to his own affairs and keeps proper company, and proper hours, is as safe in New York as in any part of the globe, the most violently Republican township of St. Lawrence County not excepted. Our streets are clean, and are in good order as to the paving, except where certain corporations tear them up and keep their rents gaping. Our city is well watered, well lighted, and well parked. It is conceded that we have the best police and fire departments in the world. Our docks are being rapidly improved, and will compare, when completed, with the Liverpool and London docks. Our tax rate is lower than that of dozens of other American cities whose affairs are not nearly so well administered. Nor is the tax rate low because the assessed values are high. If any real estate owner claims that his property is overvalued, you can silence him at once by offering to buy it at the valuation. Practical real estate owners know that the County of New York does not over-assess its property owners.

That the Tammany Hall Democracy will largely aid in organizing victory for the National ticket next November is beyond question. The National Democracy is free to choose whatever candidate it may prefer. Tammany has no desire to dictate or control the choice; its part in the conflict is to elect the candidate after he shall have been named. No matter what Republican majorities may come down to the Harlem River from the interior of the State, we propose to meet and drown them with eighty-five thousand majority from New York and Kings.

RICHARD CROKER.

THE TAMMANY REGIMENT.

Oration by Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A. (late Commanding Third Corps, Army of the Potomac), at the dedication of the monument to the 42d Regiment, N. Y.

S. V., Gettysburg, Pa., Sept. 24, 1891.

THE FORTY-SECOND NEW YORK INFANTRY was raised and organized by the Tammany Society in the City of New York, in May and June, 1861. The Regiment was taken to the field by the Grand Sachem of that year, Colonel William D. Kennedy, who died a few days afterward in Washington, in July. Colonel Kennedy was succeeded by Captain Milton Coggsell, an accomplished officer of the Regular Army. Among the Sachems of Tammany who were conspicuous in their efforts to raise this famous battalion, I may mention Elijah F. Purdy, Daniel E. Delevan, Isaac Bell, Thomas Dunlap, Smith Ely, and John Clancy.

Early in the same year, 1861, several other Tammany leaders raised regiments and brigades for the war. Among them were the Chasseurs, organized by General John Cochrane, the brigades of General Thomas Francis Meagher, and General Corcoran, and the brigade of General Sickles, which was composed of five regiments.

Meagher's and Nugent's 69th Regiment lost more men in battle, killed and wounded, than any infantry regiment from the State of New York. Sickles' First Excelsior lost the most men killed and wounded in one battle, having lost at Williamsburg 79 killed and 168 wounded, including 7 officers killed and 22 wounded out of 33 officers present. At Antietam, eight color-bearers of the Irish Brigade were shot down at Bloody Lane, but the Brigade carried the position. At Fredericksburg the Color-Sergeant of the 69th was found dead with his flag concealed and wrapped around his body, a bullet having pierced the flag and his heart. At Antietam, the FORTY-

SECOND, then in Dana's Brigade, Sedgwick's Division of the Second Corps, charged with Sedgwick into the woods around the Dunker Church, where it lost 180 out of the 345 who were engaged. Major James E. Mallon, afterwards Colonel of the FORTY-SECOND, is especially mentioned by General Howard and Colonel Hall, the Brigade and Division Commanders, for his efficient and fearless services in keeping the men in ranks under fire and for his daring in recovering the fallen colors of his regiment in the face of the advancing enemy. Colonel Edmund C. Charles, of the FORTY-SECOND, was left wounded, supposed mortally, at Nelson's Farm, one of the Seven Days' Battles.

In the Chancellorsville Campaign, the FORTY-SECOND, under Mallon, took part in the assault and capture of Fredericksburg; and here again the Regiment is especially commended by the Brigade Commander, Colonel Norman J. Hall, not only for its coolness and steadiness in battle, but also for the admirable discipline that, under the most trying circumstances, saved its position from the effects of a panic created by a false alarm in the night. Again, at Gettysburg, the FORTY-SECOND under Colonel Mallon was distinguished for gallant conduct on the second and third days of this battle. In the final charge of Armistead's Brigade of the enemy, Sergeant Michael Cuddy, the color-bearer, was mortally wounded. Already distinguished at Fredericksburg for daring courage, this heroic soldier, a moment after he fell with his colors, rose in the face of the advancing enemy, and triumphantly waving the flag he so dearly loved—this flag I now hold—dropped dead, his body covering the standard. At Bristow Station, the brave Colonel Mallon, then commanding a brigade, was killed at the extreme front while rallying his own regiment under a heavy fire.

At Ball's Bluff in 1861, under Cogswell; in the Seven Days' Battles, in 1862, under Charles; at Antietam and Fredericksburg in 1862, under Bomford; at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Bristow Station in 1863, under Mallon; in the Wilderness Campaign in 1864, under Lynch, this intrepid old regiment gained fresh honors in every conflict, until its term of enlistment expired July 13, 1864, when it was mustered out of service, transferring a number of its men who re-enlisted, together with the recruits, to the Eighty-second New York.

The FORTY-SECOND took part in thirty-six battles and engagements; the largest losses of the Regiment were in the great battles of



MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES, MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

[On face of die in raised and polished granite letters,]

42D NEW YORK INFANTRY, 3D BRIGADE, 2D DIVISION, 2D CORPS.

II.

[Face of third base, in raised and polished granite letters,]

TAMMANY REGIMENT.

III.

[Obverse of die, bronze tablet bearing the shield of the Columbian Order,]

THIS REGIMENT WAS RAISED AND ORGANIZED BY COL. WILLIAM D. KENNEDY,
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY AND OF
THE UNION DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK CITY.

IV.

[Right side of die, bronze tablet,]

JULY 2, 1863.—Went to support of 3d Corps, about 5 P. M. Held this position July 3d, and assisted in repulsing the assault of Pickett's Division. Casualties: killed 15, wounded 55, missing 4.

V.

[Left side of die, bronze tablet,]

MUSTERED INTO U. S. SERVICE, JUNE 22, 1861.—TOTAL ENROLLMENT, 1,210.
PARTICIPATED IN 19 BATTLES.—KILLED 92, WOUNDED 328, MISSING 298.

MONUMENT COMMITTEE.

JAMES J. MARTIN,

JOHN COCHRANE,

JOHN J. GORMAN.



THE TAMMANY MONUMENT AT GETTYSBURG.

Antietam and Gettysburg, in which it lost in killed and wounded 18 officers and 223 enlisted men; and considering the total number of men present in line of battle in the Regiment, this record gives the FORTY-SECOND the right to be included, as history has already included it, among the great fighting regiments of the war.

The history of the Tammany Society, which raised this regiment at the outbreak of the war, dates from the foundation of our Government. This historical organization was conspicuous among the founders of the great political party with which it has always been identified. Among its illustrious roll of Sachems are included the names of George Clinton, Philip Schuyler, Walter Bowne, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Osgood, Daniel D. Tompkins, Garrett Sickles, Stephen Allen, Michael Ulshoeffer, John A. Dix, Samuel J. Tilden, Augustus Schell, John Van Buren, Churchill C. Cambrelling and John T. Irving.

Jefferson, Madison, Clinton and Jackson found their strongest supporters in its ranks. Established as a bulwark against the aristocratic traditions and tendencies inherited from British ancestors, it supported Jefferson and his policy of shaping our institutions and customs according to the maxims of the Declaration of Independence. In the War of 1812 with England, the Society of Tammany sustained President Madison and Governor Tompkins in all the war measures that brought that memorable conflict to an honorable peace. It resisted the efforts of secessionists, and the treasonable overtures then for the first time heard in the East. It supported Jackson in his measures for the suppression of nullification in South Carolina, and it sustained him in his long struggle against the money power which, under the leadership of the Bank of the United States, assumed to control the financial policy of the Government. It supported Polk and Marcy in the War with Mexico, in the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California, which established our boundaries on the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico.

When the Civil War of 1861 followed the election of Lincoln, the influence of Tammany Hall was instantly shown in the patriotic action of the Common Council of our City, where its power was supreme, pledging to the President all the resources of the Municipality, in men and money, for the support of the Government, in the enforcement of the laws, and to maintain the Union.

Let me here recall the concluding resolutions of the series, unanimously adopted by the New York Common Council, at a special meeting of the Board of Aldermen, convened on the 19th of April, 1861, while the echoes of Sumter were still heard. These resolutions I had the honor to draft.

“RESOLVED, That we invoke in this crisis the unselfish patriotism and the unfaltering loyalty which have been uniformly manifested in all periods of national peril by the population of the City of New York; and while we reiterate our undiminished affection for the friends of the Union who have gallantly and faithfully labored in the Southern States for the preservation of peace and the restoration of fraternal relations among the people, and our readiness to co-operate with them in all honorable measures of reconciliation, yet we only give expression to the convictions of our constituents when we declare it to be their unalterable purpose, as it is their solemn duty, to do all in their power to uphold and defend the integrity of the Union and to vindicate the honor of our flag and to crush the power of those who are enemies in War, as in Peace they were friends.

RESOLVED, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of the State of New York.”

I well remember the words of President Lincoln, referring to this action of our City Government, a few days afterward, when I called upon him for instructions touching the command I had undertaken to raise on the invitation of Governor Morgan. He said, “Sickles, I have here on my table the resolutions passed by your Common Council appropriating a million of dollars toward raising men for this war and promising to do all in the power of your authorities to support the Government. When these resolutions were brought to me by Alderman Frank Boole and his associates of the Committee, I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when men break through party lines and take this patriotic stand for the Government, and the Union, all must come out well in the end. When you see them, tell them for me they made my heart glad and I can only say, God bless them.”

This action of the Common Council of New York made the great city a unit for national defense; it united all parties for the Union.

Men and money were given without stint for the war ; gold flowed from Wall Street to the National Treasury like the stream of another Pactolus ; every house and every shop was a recruiting station.

The electric flash that brought the news of Sumter to the North was not quicker than the martial current that sped from man to man and from woman to woman, transforming our people from civilians to soldiers ; the flag lowered at Sumter was unfurled everywhere, on spires of church and cathedral, in Wall Street, in market places, in every village and every school-house and over the homes of the rich and the poor, far and near. The newspapers, like mirrors, reflected the universal war movement of the people. Public meetings were as spontaneous as the April leaves that fill the woods, and Union Square could not hold the thousands poured into it from every avenue and street, like unloosened streams hurrying to the sea. Go where you would, there was but one theme to talk about, the impending war ; traffic lost its thrift, industries were tedious, amusements lacked zest, and it was only the sound of the drum and the bugle that won every ear. The flag so long without meaning, unless seen far away from home, on some distant sea, or in a foreign land, all at once had a new charm ; it filled our eyes and stirred our hearts. We counted its stars ; it stood for the Union. For the rich it meant their wealth, for the poor who have only a country and a home, it meant everything they held dear ; for the slave it meant freedom. We saw the colors proudly carried by the battalions hastily summoned to Washington ; and among the multitudes that filled the streets gayly decked with a thousand banners, there were not many who did not wish themselves in the ranks.

The State of New York raised 400,000 men for the Union armies. Of these vast numbers 53,000 died in service. Our state has erected seventy-six monuments on this battle-field, commemorating the heroic services of its battalions and its batteries. Of the three hundred renowned battalions in the army, whose losses in battle, in killed and wounded, as shown by Fox, were the greatest—fifty-nine were New York troops. In this number are included four of the five regiments of Sickles' brigade.

From 1861 to 1865 the State of New York expended \$125,000,000 in raising and equipping its troops. The New York regiments and batteries took part in more than 1,000 battles, engagements and skir-

ished. Of the 250 regiments of Infantry, Cavalry and Engineers, raised in our State, 127 of them were organized and mainly recruited in the City of New York. The very large enlistments for the Navy, besides, were mainly drawn from our City. The municipal authorities and our citizens never faltered a moment in their efforts to advance the cause of the Union. The City Hall Park was filled with barracks; the families of the City Volunteers received an allowance toward their support from the City Treasury, a bounty nowhere else given. Millions were voted by the city to equip the municipal regiments. And afterwards we supported enthusiastically the heroes of Antietam and Gettysburg for the highest honors in the gift of the Republic. This is the honorable war record of our patriotic metropolis.

There are nearly four hundred monuments on this battle-field ; all but two of them commemorate the services of the soldiers who fought this battle. I have seen many monuments in other countries erected in honor of commanders of armies, but it was reserved for us to signalize in this manner the heroism of the rank and file of our battalions. Apart from this battle-field, hundreds of these memorials are already placed in as many towns and cities. There is no better way to prepare for the next war than to show your appreciation of your defenders in the last war. No nation can long survive the decline of its martial strength. When it ceases to honor its soldiers it will have none. It cannot be said of our Republic that it has been ungrateful. We give more than a hundred million dollars a year, in pensions, to the soldiers of our wars. We recognize their right to share in the grand result of their achievements. Our people gladly help the helpless survivors ; we try to save their families from want ; we erect monuments to the men who fell in battle. The military power of this country rests in the ranks of its reserves, the 6,000,000 of citizens ready to volunteer to take up arms whenever the exigency demands their services.

There is a day and an hour in the annals of every nation when its life hangs on the issue of a battle ; when it stands or falls by the sword. Such a battle was Gettysburg. You are now standing on the field where the destiny of this republic was decided. Right here, are some of the brave soldiers, veterans of the FORTY-SECOND, who helped to win the decisive victory for the Union. You stand, right

here, on a spot that was a vortex of battle ; man to man, steel against steel, rifle and cannon and sword, shot and shell, the hoarse voices of desperate combatants, the smoke and flame and the clash of arms ; right here, near this clump of trees the resolute onset of the veteran divisions, led by Pickett and Pettigrew and Trimble, met the solid front of Hancock's Corps, as the ocean wave strikes the rock, and like the wave was dashed into spray as the advancing lines of the enemy broke into fragments against the wall of Hancock's bayonets.

Right here, in the thickest of the combat stood your own gallant FORTY-SECOND, under the eye of the young and gifted Mallon. He says in his official report : " I formed the regiment in line, facing the decisive point ; the line was but fairly established and but just started in the direction of the contested point, when Colonel Hall, our Brigade Commander, with words of encouragement cheered us forward. With the impetus conveyed by these words, the regiment vigorously advanced, and in that charge which rescued our batteries from the hands of our foe, which saved our army from disaster, which gave to us glorious success, this regiment was foremost and its flag in the advance."

Right here, too, the brave McCurdy fell with his flag, this very flag, and here he rose once more, as Mallon says, " and waved his flag in the face of the enemy not ten yards distant, that flag he loved so well, of which he was so proud, and for which his precious life without a murmur was freely given up." All honor then to Meagher, O'Rourke, Kelly, Corcoran, DeLacey, Mallon, and McCurdy—glorious types of the Irish-American soldier.

Of the effective force of ninety thousand men, on our side, engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, twenty-seven thousand, almost one-third, were New York troops. And of the total loss in the Union Army, twenty-three thousand, our loss was six thousand seven hundred and seven.

The day is not distant, I trust, when the War Department will establish a military post here, at Gettysburg, which shall include the battle-field among its dependencies, so that all of the topographical features of the ground may remain unimpaired and the numerous monuments erected by eighteen States on this field may be properly guarded and preserved ; such a military post should be garrisoned by at least one company of artillery, with its appropriate equipment, to

the end that the morning and evening gun may forever salute the flag of the Union which was so heroically defended on this consecrated ground.

To-day Europe is a camp. The soil trembles with the tread of millions of armed men that listen for the command that will begin a conflict such as the world has never seen. Happily, here we enjoy the tranquility of perfect peace. Our battles are fought ; fraternity at home and good will abroad are stronger guarantees than armies. France, Germany, Austria and Russia are now disciplining their vast armies in sham battles, the school of war. We spend our money in teaching our children the arts of peace, and while you enjoy its blessings, you have chosen a fit moment to commemorate the men who won this boon for us at the cost of precious sacrifices.

The soldiers of 1861 were not enlisted in a war conquest. They did not follow an ambitious usurper ; they were not tools of Kings to rivet chains on unwilling hands. They took up arms for the people, of whom they were a part, to save the people's Government, and to maintain the people's Union. The Volunteers of 1861 were the flower of our young manhood. If they were poor in purse, they had at least a home and a country, and for these they gave all they had to give, their time, their services and their lives. For their homes and country and for you they risked wounds, disease, privations and poverty. Compare the situation of this country in 1861 with its position now, and you will all comprehend why it is that so many states and cities and towns have erected soldiers' monuments. The same comparison helps us to understand why it is that we give a hundred million dollars a year in pensions to soldiers and sailors. These proofs of public appreciation and gratitude mark the estimate put by our citizens on the services rendered to the country by the Army and Navy from 1861 to 1865. In our time no ruler will be chosen in this country who will take a dollar away from the bounty given by a grateful nation to its defenders.

Standing near the magnificent tomb of Napoleon in Paris, some years ago, my son, then a boy of six or seven years, said to me, " Father, does Napoleon know what a beautiful monument he has ? " This question, like many others asked by inquisitive boys and girls, was not easy to answer. I trust that the brave and faithful soldiers of the Republic who fell in the great conflict, far away from home and

kindred, now see and know what is done for their memory by the men and women of this generation. I trust they know something of the splendor and strength of the Republic they died to save. Let the presence of your own heroic dead consecrate this monument; let it stand for uncounted years, to tell the story of Tammany's devotion to the country in time of war, and of her love for her soldiers who fell in the great conflict. American from head to foot in its beautiful design, graceful in form, impressive in its grand proportions, let this memorial remind the coming generations, as long as bronze and granite last, of the debt they owe to the Tammany braves of 1861.

Colonel Buehler and Gentlemen of the Battle-field Association—In behalf of the State of New York, and of the Tammany Society of New York, which has contributed a very large addition to the State appropriation for the erection of this Monument to the regiment it raised for the support of the Government at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and in the name of the Survivors of the Forty-second New York Infantry, who are present here to-day, I have the honor to place this memorial in the custody and care of your Association. I cannot fitly perform this duty without giving expression to the surprise and indignation felt by the veterans of this famous battalion when they see their monument standing on a rear line, from which they advanced and repulsed the approaching enemy, whilst troops that refused to advance in obedience to the repeated orders of their brigade commander, are permitted to place their monument on a line much further to the front than they ventured to march, until after the victory was won. I know that the trustees of the Battle-field Association are in no sense responsible for this outrage upon history. You, sir, and all of your associates, resisted this proceeding by all the means in your power; and it was not until you were constrained by your respect for a judicial decree that you desisted from your opposition to this injustice. My duty is discharged when I protest, as I do solemnly protest, in the name of history, and truth, and equity, against a judgment that awards honors to a battalion that failed to earn them on this field, and denies to the Forty-second New York Infantry the recognition it received from its brigade, division and corps commanders.

TAMMANY'S RELATION TO THE DEMOCRACY.

Remarks of Hon. William Sulzer, Speaker of the Assembly, State of New York, at the Banquet of the Commonwealth Club.

At the banquet of the Commonwealth Club, Holland House, New York City, Friday, January 27, 1893, there was a discussion of "Tammany's Relation to the Democracy." Grosvenor P. Lowrey opened the debate from the standpoint of an Independent Democrat. Speaker Sulzer spoke in praise and in defense of Tammany Hall. His speech was as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN—Owing to imperative official duties that have occupied almost every hour of my time since I received your very courteous invitation to address you, I speak, to-night, without the slightest preparation, and entirely on the impulse of the moment.

I shall offer no apology, however, because I believe every American citizen should be ready and willing at all times to defend his political convictions with substantial argument, and give sound reason for the faith within him, and for those principles to which he adheres most tenaciously.

My friend, Mr. Lowrey, for whose opinion and judgment, on almost everything but politics, I have a profound respect, has carefully prepared, and as carefully read to us, a long and somewhat tedious dissertation on political ethics. As an essay its diction is faultless and its literary character beyond reproach. But there is nothing new in it—nothing startling, and nothing that has not been as well, as eloquently and as ably said before.

He finds fault with our institutions and the existing order of things generally, but he offers us nothing better in return; no, not even the hint or suggestion of a remedy, to correct all of the alleged evils he dwells on so learnedly and so eloquently.

He has occupied considerable time in defending his Democracy and his title to be called a Democrat, and then adroitly, but somewhat disingenuously, writes himself down a Mugwump, declining at the same time, however, to accept either Chauncey M. Depew's or Gen. Horace Porter's definition of a Mugwump.

He admits that he has been at times something other than a Democrat. I do not care to take him to task for his political convictions, his political desertions, or his political predilections.

It is not necessary for me to prove my Democracy. *I am a Democrat.* I could not be otherwise. A Tammany Hall Democrat, if you will. Not to be a Democrat would be foreign to my nature, alien to every pulsation of my heart, and contrary to my every hope for the future and the glory of my fellowman. Born and bred a Democrat, rocked, as it were, in the very cradle of Democracy, my first longing was Democratic — my first inspiration was Democratic.

Tammany's relation to the Democracy has been close and influential in the past, is such to-day, and will be more so in the future. *Tammany is Democracy.* Tammany needs no defense from any man. It needs no eulogy but its own history, its own record, and its own indefatigable efforts for its principles of the people. That record and that history speak in trumpet tones to the world more eloquently than words of mine. Read its history, read what it has done for the people in many a struggle, and for the Democratic party, ere you judge it and condemn. In the words of William L. Marcy, "Do not impugn our motives, and convict us on the bickerings of pigmy malice and the ravings of malefactors whose only object is the destruction of every barrier which can possibly defend the liberties of our country."

Tammany Hall is generally misunderstood, and sometimes willfully misconstrued by those who are not members of it, and familiar with its organization and its workings. There is the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, which is a fraternal organization, dedicated to the noblest works of mankind; and there is the Tammany Hall political organization, dedicated to Democratic principles, and to the welfare of the people and the public weal.

Two weeks after George Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States, on the steps of the old City Hall in Wall street, the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was insti-



WILLIAM SULZER, SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY, STATE OF NEW YORK.

tuted by William Mooney and other distinguished citizens of our municipality. In 1805 it was incorporated by an act of the Legislature. Its object was for the purpose of affording relief to indigent and distressed members of the association, their widows and orphans, and others who might be found worthy and proper objects of its charity. It is a benevolent institution with a monument of eternal fame in ten thousand kind and noble acts and glorious deeds. Since its organization, it has without an exception annually celebrated Independence Day. It is based on the rock of liberty. Its corner-stone is freedom, and its future, as its past, is dedicated to the great truths Thomas Jefferson penned in the Declaration of Independence ; its walls the bulwarks of our free institutions, and its inner sanctity a temple of justice.

Call the roll of its illustrious membership for the past one hundred years, and the names of the Nation's greatest and most patriotic sons, whose deeds of nobility, whose acts of valor, and whose works in the vineyard of mankind made our history the proudest boast of an American citizen.

Its influence on the early destiny of our country cannot be overestimated or exaggerated. It supported and lent lustre to the administration of Washington. It harmonized every conflicting faction in the early days of the Republic. It insisted on the adoption and ratification of the Federal Constitution, and gave to the people the power which they have ever since enjoyed under the organic law of the land. It protested against titles and aristocracy. It did not believe in lords and dukes and queens and kings. It thwarted the schemes of the enemies of the Republic. It believed the Revolutionary war had not been fought in vain but had brought about a new era in the governments of the world. From that day to this, it has never been false to its early traditions, to its history or the tenets and objects of its founders. It has always been true to the principles of Jefferson and the Constitution. It has always responded to every call of the distressed and oppressed in every land and every clime. By personal subscription it raised sufficient funds to gather the remains of the martyred patriots, who died in British war-ships, in the cause of Independence of their Country, and whose bones lay bleaching in the sun, whitening the shores of the East river, and buried them with honor beneath the mausoleum in Trinity Churchyard. It supported Jefferson in his great reform administration,

urged Madison to protect American sailors on the high seas and ultimately enforce it by declaring war against England. It first suggested and proclaimed the Monroe doctrine. It organized and equipped a regiment in every war, and has done a thousand other glorious patriotic deeds for the historian to record on every page of American history.

It is not, however, of the Society, strictly speaking, that the topic under discussion is chiefly allied, but rather to the organization as a political institution.

Tammany is a political organization. The greatest Democratic organization in the country. It first asserted itself in the closing days of the last century. It was organized under the leadership of the founders of the Democratic party—Jefferson and Burr. It first attacked the powerful Federal party which was rapidly establishing, on the ruins of monarchy and aristocracy.

Before 1800 Tammany was composed of men of different political opinions, and took no prominent part in politics. But in the campaign fought almost upon the same lines, and for the same principles, as the campaign of last fall, and which resulted in an equally, if not more, decided victory for the people, its members stood together, the Federal party received its death blow; the power of the aristocracy was broken, the tendencies to empire were forever swept away, Jefferson elected President, and Burr Vice-President of the United States. It was the first and most signal triumph of Democratic principles in this country. It was the end of the Federal party.

The influence of that victory is felt to-day. Its impulse on our political destiny and stability is familiar to all students of history. Books have been written about it and the subject is still inexhaustible. It was a crisis in our political history. The people won, and the influence and relationship of Tammany Hall to the Democracy in that memorable contest turned the current of events, settled for all time the complexion of our institutions, and demonstrated that this is a government of the people, guaranteeing equality before the law, and deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

From thence forward its influence has been felt in every campaign. It has been for the people and for Democracy. It has done more for the Nation, more for the State, and more for this great city, than any other political organization that ever existed.

It cannot be denied that there are pages in its history that its true and sincere friends would prefer to have rewritten. It cannot be denied that there have been times in its history when the men at the helm steered the old ship near dangerous shoals, but it has never been wrecked. It has survived all defeats; frustrated and baffled all the schemes of its enemies; lived down the calumnies of generations, and to-day it is greater and grander, broader and more liberal, more successful, more influential, and capable of accomplishing more for the good of the people and the common weal than ever before.

The victory achieved in the last campaign is an evidence of this. No one can doubt its position in that contest, and its relation in that campaign to the Democracy—no one can deny the influence that its vigor and its enthusiasm had on the country. How was it accomplished? By the effective organization, the courageous leadership, the indefatigable energy and the political sagacity of that far-seeing, silent, thoughtful statesman, Richard Croker. It was the action of Tammany that inspired the people throughout the length and breadth of the land with Democratic success, and brought about the tidal wave that made Congress Democratic and triumphantly elected Cleveland and Stevenson. (Applause.)

My friend decries organization as a danger and menace to free institutions, but there is another side of it. Instead of being a menace, and threatening the stability of our institutions why is it not a safeguard? Could the victory of last fall have been achieved without systematic organization? I ask, has any great victory in the history of the world, for the good and the right, ever been won without organization? Men may take a pessimistic view of organization to-day because it seems to be popular, but in the days of darkness and trouble and defeat, nothing can accomplish more good for the greatest number than the determined efforts of men united together under one grand leadership fighting for principles that represent truth and humanity.

Organization is the secret of success in all great undertakings; very little can be accomplished by individual effort. The history of the world teaches this and successfully demonstrates the falsity of every argument advanced by my friend against it. Every step in the world's progress, every movement for the betterment of humanity has been accomplished by organization. I agree with Mr. Croker that more can be done for the principles of the Demo-

cratic party and for the benefit of society at large by systematic organization of men with fixed purposes and a determination to succeed than in any other way. We must deal with men as we find them, and not as we would wish them—with things as they are, and not as we desire. We cannot have everything as we would like until the millenium is at hand.

This is a practical age—let us be practical. Let us look at facts, at recent history, at the figures of our municipal government.

Many of the gentlemen here to-night are opposed to Tammany Hall, because they know so little about it. You hear it called an organization, and hence you straightway denounce it and all organizations. It would be as logical and equally as absurd to denounce all government, because you do not like the political machinery of the Chinese Empire. From the unit of the family to the highest perfection of civilization, everything is organization in a greater or lesser degree. All government, all society, all business, all association and all institutions are based on the sure foundation of more or less perfect organization. It is the organization of the drilled regiment that makes it effective and capable of successfully coping with the multitude and the mob. It is the discipline of the police organization that gives the citizen confidence in the security of his person and his property. It is the trained organization of the firemen that makes insurance rates so low in our city. What great movement has ever succeeded without organization? From the beginning of civilization, from the establishment of the Christian church, from the discovery of America, from the Revolution to the present day, everything that has been accomplished for the progress of the world and the advancement of the human race has been done by organized effort and concerted action. Every man here knows that to be true. What organization has done in the past it can do in the future.

The men who denounce Tammany Hall and its Democracy—who denounce its organization and its leaders, who revile it, and prophecy all evil concerning it know not of what they talk. Its organization is thoroughly simple and absolutely Democratic. In this city there are thirty Assembly Districts—each divided into election districts, containing about four hundred voters. In each Assembly District the primary meeting is held strictly according to law—ample notice is given of the time and place by publication and notice, all Democrats are in-

vited to attend and vote for delegates to the General Committee or County Committee. This Committee is the great wheel of the organization ; it chooses from among its members the Committee on Organization, and it also elects from its members one to represent it in the Executive Committee. The latter is, therefore, accepted as the leader of the Assembly District. This is the whole system in a nut-shell. What could be less autocratic, less dictatorial, and more in harmony with our Democratic institutions ? All power comes from the people. These men and these committees represent constituencies. If they neglect their duty—if they prove false to their trust—the remedy is in the hands of the people, and is always promptly and effectually applied. The people believe in this organization to-day. It has the confidence of the people, and confidence, as Burke says, “is a thing of slow growth.” If it goes on in the future as it has in the past under the direction of Mr. Croker, it will always continue to retain the confidence of the people. They have supported it and trusted it in several recent and very important campaigns. Tammany has redeemed every pledge it has made to the people, and has given the citizens of New York the best, the most efficient, the most honest, and the most economical administration of their municipal affairs ever known. There never was a time in our history when we enjoyed better local government than to-day. There never was a time when our municipal bonds sold at so great a premium in the financial markets of the world, and at so low a rate of interest. There never was a time when our police department and our fire department were more efficient, and made life and property more secure. There never was a time when our streets were better paved, better lighted, and better cleaned. There never was a time when we had so many well-kept and beautiful parks. There never was a time when we had so many substantial docks, and in such good condition. There never was a time when our taxes were so low, and the assessed value on real estate less. (Loud cheers.) But, gentlemen, I am afraid I take up too much of your time—(cries of No ! No ! Go on ; go on). There never was a time when so many grand public improvements have been made, and are being made. I submit these incontrovertible facts to your consideration. They are matters of record, and on that record I challenge honest criticism. (Applause.) With all these things before us—matters of public knowl-

edge—wrought and consummated by Tammany Hall, and its organization, why should we be so prone to denounce it, and so quickly condemn it? Do you wish a change merely for a change? Do you wish to defeat it merely to defeat it? Do you know its true relation to the Democracy? Well, it is simply this, that when you defeat Tammany you destroy the Democracy of the State, defeat it in the Nation, and rob the people of the greatest vehicle for accomplishment of their own good. (Applause, and cries of Oh, that's too much!) Well, we may differ. Perhaps we cannot agree on everything. I would not give a cent for a man who always agreed with me. I think it a good thing to differ now and then. Did you ever stop to think what a simple, silly world this would be if we all agreed, and all thought alike? That calls up a story that is said to have occurred in the State my friend Lowrey came from. In a little New England Village, during the war, the men folk were wont to congregate—sort of embryo organization, you know—(laughter)—around the stove of the country store every winter's Saturday night, drink hard cider, smoke long pipes, and discuss the affairs of state. One night the debate ran high, and the disputants unable to agree were about to settle the matter by a physical encounter, when the sage of the assembly spoke up and said, "Wal, noow, it's a mighty good thing you can't all agree. I was just a thinking if everybody agreed, and everybody thought as I do, everybody'd want my Johanna." "And if everybody agreed, and everybody thought as I do," answered the man who had raised the row, "nobody'd want her." (Laughter and applause.) It may be a good thing to have a few Mugwumps, or a few kickers on the outside. Sometimes, perhaps, they may really do some good. But their lot is at best, to be charitable, a self-sacrificing one, with not even sympathy, out in the cold, without a local habitation or a name, abused by all. I really think they should accept with cheerful hearts the advice of Mr. Croker, and join the busy, energetic ranks of the Democracy of Tammany Hall. All the Democrats of this Metropolis should stand together. All should be harmony. Every Democrat should strive with a singleness of purpose to redeem every pledge our party made to the people in the campaigns in 1884, 1888 and 1892. Let us stand firm by our principles, our pledges and our convictions, and having elected our candidates the duty of the hour is to support them, and uphold them in their administrations to the end that the promises we stand sponsor for may be carried out and fulfilled.

Far be it from me to brand an honest difference of opinion with the stamp of fiction, which is always the parent of discontent and revolution. But when independence to regular organization and true Democratic principles springs from jealousy, vanity and petty ambition, and protest against regularity is a mere desire for a change in the existing order of affairs, coupled with the hope of personal advantage, it should be beneath the contempt of honest, sincere and patriotic citizens.

Come into Tammany ! It welcomes you. Its doors are always open. Participate in its deliberations, and rejoice in its victories. Every Democrat in the city should belong to its organization, and every Democrat in the country should be its friend. You can help to shape its course. You can help to guide its action. You can help to make its destiny, and determine in the future its relations to the Democracy. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, organization is its best guarantee.



TAMMANY IN THE LAST CAMPAIGN.

By JOHN W. McDONALD.

“Whoever may be nominated by the Democratic National Convention, the Democracy of Tammany Hall will be found arrayed solidly behind him ; where the fight is at its thickest and where the work is hardest, and we will roll up so great a plurality for him here in the city that the Republicans will be swamped at the Harlem.”

So spoke Congressman W. Bourke Cockran to the General Committee of Tammany Hall at its April meeting in 1892.

The Committee thundered out its approval to these sentiments, for Mr. Cockran was speaking in behalf of the organization at large.

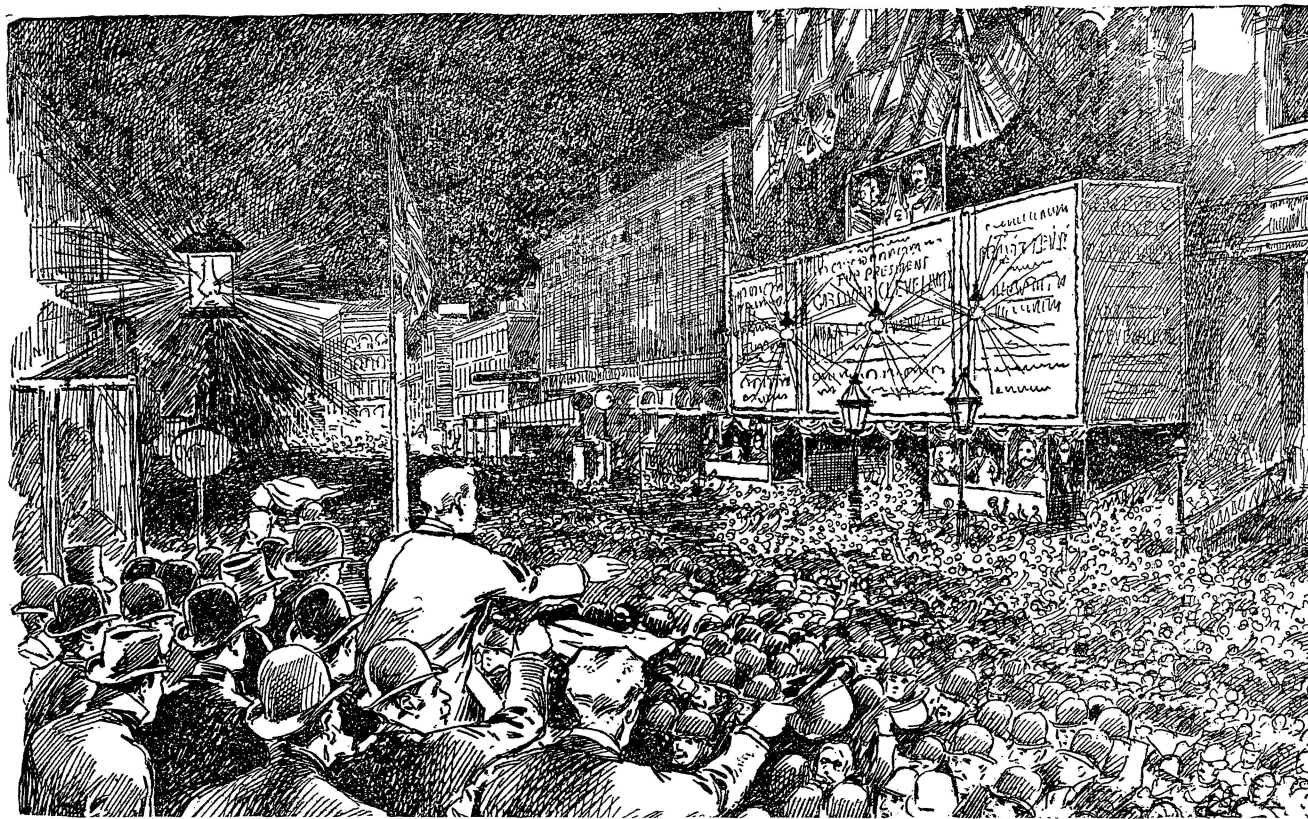
How well this promise has been kept is now known to the Democrats of the Nation. The story of how Tammany labored in the last campaign is the recital of the history of the hardest, most loyal and effective work ever done by any local political organization in the history of American politics.

It was incessant toil from the very beginning to the very end of the campaign, and in years to come Tammany men, yet unborn, will refer back to the record made with pride. And well they may.

The Tammany delegates to the Chicago Convention stood loyally by Senator Hill—for whom they were instructed by the New York State Democratic Convention—to the end. From the very moment when Mr. Cleveland was nominated by the Convention, they became the staunchest kind of advocates of the election of Grover Cleveland. When the Tammany delegates walked out of the Convention hall that beautiful morning of June 23, 1892, they brought no rancor with them, no animosity, no ill will. They were Democrats to the core. To the writer of this Richard Croker said, within a quarter of an hour after he had left the convention hall, “Tammany will do well for Cleveland. There will be no trouble with the Democrats of Tammany Hall.” Upon their return to the City of New York the Tam-

many delegates and the contingent to the National Convention had hardly time to rest themselves after the trip, before the regular annual Fourth of July celebration of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, took place. This was a great celebration in the Wigwam. Many noted speakers spoke at it. Among them were Congressman W. Bourke Cockran, who took advantage of the occasion to place the organization squarely on record, as being in the thickest of the fight for the election of Cleveland and Stevenson. The great hall of the Wigwam was packed with a multitude of Democrats, and when they heard the ringing speech of W. Bourke Cockran they almost went wild in their enthusiasm. Cleveland's name was received with the utmost demonstration of satisfaction. Hats were thrown in the air; handkerchiefs and flags were waved and words were sent out to the Democratic masses in the Nation that Tammany, always loyal to the Democracy, was in fighting trim and in dead earnest. The reading of Mr. Cleveland's letter to the Tammany Society caused another great outburst. The news of this demonstration was wired all over the country, and it at once had a marked effect on the Democratic National campaign.

It was tantamount to an insult to ask a good Tammany man during the first days of the campaign what Tammany was going to do. So it should have been. "When, I would like to know, was Tammany ever disloyal to the Democratic cause?" asked Ex-Lieutenant-Governor White, of California, at this same celebration. But, because the Tammany delegates had favored the nomination of another, certain people throughout the country wanted to be assured as to Tammany's position in the fight; and it must be said that the celerity with which Tammany gave the assurance to the country that there was no luke-warmness in its ranks was one of the finest pieces of political shrewdness noticed in the whole campaign. On July 5 Richard Croker called the Executive Committee together, and the meeting that resulted was one of the most significant and most valuable moves made in the whole campaign. Each leader was called upon to state how the nomination of Cleveland and Stevenson had been received in his district. Without exception they all reported that the nominations were received with general satisfaction. Facts are required at these executive meetings, and it was reported that in a very few cases dissatisfaction had been expressed, but that these



THE GREAT TAMMANY HALL CLEVELAND AND STEVENSON MASS MEETING, NOVEMBER 3, 1892.

cases were few and far between. Mr. Croker then made a speech to the executive members. He called upon every one of them to do unusually hard work in the campaign. He advised them to look carefully over their districts and to pay particular attention to assuring any dissatisfied people they might come across of the great importance of piling up a big majority for the Democratic National candidates. He said that he had looked carefully over the field and was ready to predict the election of Cleveland and Stevenson by an overwhelming majority.

"Cleveland and Stevenson," said he, "will sweep the country."

He then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted, and which carried great encouragement to Democrats in other States :

Resolved, That the Tammany Hall Organization, in executive meeting assembled, cordially indorses the platform of principles enunciated by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, and pledges its earnest and untiring support to the nominees of that convention : Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

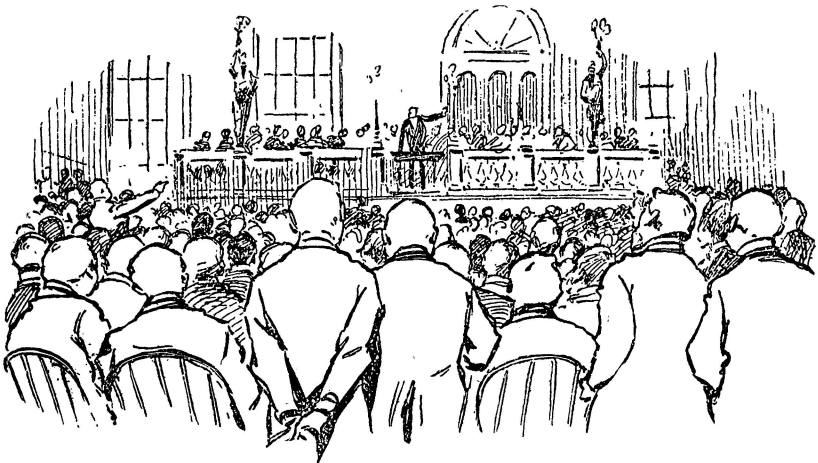
From this point on the Tammany campaign was carried on with a magnificent attention to detail and organization which has never been equaled. During July and August not much appeared on the surface. People talked about its being such a remarkably quiet campaign. These were the people who were not informed as to what was going on. The organization was being perfected and strengthened, not only in the thirty Assembly Districts, but in every one of the eleven hundred and thirty-seven election districts. In the middle of July the city was reapportioned, and was given thirty instead of twenty-four Assembly Districts. This made reorganization necessary in all the districts. Six new leaders had to be appointed, and they had to appoint their election district captains. This work was very quickly done.

In this respect the Tammany people got away ahead of the Republicans, for the latter refused to reorganize their Assembly Districts until after the campaign.

Upon the call of Hugh J. Grant, the then Tammany Mayor, ex-Secretary William C. Whitney and others, the Committee of One Hundred, which had the notification ceremonies to Cleveland and

Stevenson in Madison Square Garden in charge, was organized and carried its work to a very successful conclusion. This notification took place on July 20, and on the evening of July 21 the Sagamore Club of Harlem, the Tammany social organization of that part of the city, tendered Cleveland and Stevenson a magnificent reception.

"All past differences are forgotten," said Mr. Cleveland in his speech at this reception. The cheering from the crowd inside the club-house was tremendous. The words of Mr. Cleveland were taken up and repeated to the vast crowd that had gathered outside the



A TAMMANY HALL COUNTY CONVENTION IN SESSION.

club-house and thousands upon thousands applauded the Presidential candidate.

During the month of August the preliminary campaign work was carried out in every detail. Instructions were given as to how to vote the new ballot. Cleveland and Stevenson clubs were organized in almost all of the election districts and everything was put in ship-shape order. September was marked by even greater activity and it became evident that Tammany was about to make the biggest fight in its history. It was now time to begin a decisive and vigorous campaign in public all over the city. The work done up to this time had been most effective, but it was of the kind that did not attract public attention. But now the results of this work were to be made apparent. Tammany, in magnificent battle array, stood ready to pour thunderous broadsides into the Republican ranks.

The campaign was opened by the General Committee on the 9th day of September. Nelson Smith, the chairman, presided, and in the course of his opening address, said :

“I have referred to the auspicious outlook. I do not see how it could have greater promise of success. Our cause is absolutely just. It is, in fact, the great cause of humanity in their struggle to preserve the enjoyment of equal rights by the preservation of free elections, and the enactment of equal laws.

“Our standard is borne by the most popular man of the United States to-day—Grover Cleveland. [Tumultuous applause.] He was nominated by the popular voice, and every member of the National Democratic Convention, powerless to resist, yielded to the force of public opinion, as good Democrats always do. [Cheers.]

“In this fight against the injustice of Republican protection, the nomination of Mr. Cleveland is as natural and as logical as it was for our forefathers to ask Washington to be the first President of the United States. [Cheers.]

“The selection of Gen. Stevenson for second place on the ticket was the result of the united wisdom of the Convention, and is the strongest that could be made.” [Great Cheering.]

A Committee on Speakers, with William Sulzer (who is now Speaker of the New York State Assembly) as its chairman, was appointed, and it organized a splendid corps of orators for work in the local field. Meanwhile, there had been considerable talk in New York City as to whether an anti-Tammany Democratic local ticket should be put in the field. Shrewd politicians, National, State and local, foresaw the danger of this. It would make the work that Tammany had cut out to do for the National ticket all the more difficult. An anti-Tammany Democratic ticket would not have cut any figure in the local fight but it would have diverted some of the attention of the Tammany workers from the real business on hand—that of making certain the election of a Democratic President of the United States.

Through the instrumentality of ex-Secretary of the Navy William C. Whitney and others this danger was averted and such anti-Tammany so-called Democratic tickets as were put in the field were withdrawn and Tammany was left free to concentrate the energies on the National fight. The responsibility of the Democratic presidential contest in New York City was thus placed entirely on the Tammany Hall organiza-

tion, and right well did it carry it to splendid success. This responsibility included the responsibility on the part of Tammany Hall to nominate a good local ticket. For four years during the administra-



THE TIGER AND THE MUGWUMP

tion of Hugh J. Grant as Mayor, Tammany had been attracting the good will of all Democrats and many Republicans, and the local ticket that it did put in the field last year was one that satisfied everybody. Thomas F. Gilroy, nominated for Mayor, had made the best Commissioner of Public Works that New York City had for years. Col.

George B. McClellan, son of the late General McClellan, was placed on the ticket for President of the Board of Aldermen, and it was an enormously popular nomination. Rufus B. Cowing, a Republican, had served as City Judge in the Court of General Sessions with great success, and Tammany renominated him for the office, because it is its plan to retain good, judicial officers upon the bench.

This move disconcerted the Republicans very much, for they also nominated Mr. Cowing. The nominations by Tammany of Leonard A. Giegerich for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, of Frank T. Fitzgerald for Additional Surrogate, of Henry D. Purroy for County Clerk, and Ferdinand Levy for Register, all added strength to the ticket.

It was nominated in the Wigwam on the evening of October 18. At the convention there was a great demonstration at every mention of the names of Cleveland and Stevenson. The next three weeks saw the most magnificent political battle ever made in the city. Tammany was on its mettle. It was ready to show the country the kind of Democracy it believes in.

Magnificent work was done in the way of getting the Democratic voters out to register. Men who had never interested themselves in politics very much were seen working hard in response to Tammany's call. The perfect machinery of the organization here came into fine play. Each district leader had a tally kept of the men who registered early on the days of registration and runners were sent out to hurry up those who were careless.

The total registration was 309,625. The Republicans pretended to be overjoyed at this. They said that the Democrats had been counting on a total registration of 325,000 in the city.

"That registration," said Mr. Croker, on the day after the close of the work of the Registry Boards, "is a Democratic registration. This city will be carried by Cleveland and Stevenson by more than 75,000 plurality."

Tammany subordinated everything to the interests of the National ticket. There was practically no campaign made so far as the local ticket was concerned. The speakers were instructed to give very little time to talking in behalf of the local ticket, because that could take care of itself. The National issues they must push to the front, making the tariff issue the principal one and following it up with the Force bill.

Hundreds upon hundreds of district meetings were held and good speakers were hurried from one to the other. Two nightly rallies were held in and around Tammany Hall. The first one was held on October 25, and Senator Hill was the leading speaker at it. A dozen platforms were erected outside the hall and, from these, speeches were made to thousands upon thousands of citizens. Chairman W. F. Harrity, of the Democratic National Committee ; Chairman Don M. Dickinson, of the National Committee's Campaign Committee, and Chairman Bradley B. Smalley, of the National Committee's Committee on Speakers, occupied a box in the main hall. The final Tammany rally was held on November 3 and was a monster affair. A sketch of the scene in front of the Wigwam on the night of that rally accompanies this.

The Tammany leaders worked night and day during the last weeks of the campaign. The Executive Committee had offered a beautiful silk flag to the district that cast the biggest plurality for Cleveland and Stevenson, and another silk flag was offered to the district that cast the largest percentage of its registered vote. The first flag went subsequently to the Second District, where Police Justice Divver is the leader, and the second flag went to the Sixth District, where ex-County Clerk Patrick Keenan is the leader.

District leaders also offered prizes out of their own pockets for good work. Those people who were friendly enough towards the Tammany local ticket, but were unfriendly to the Democratic National ticket, were told that the test of loyalty to Tammany was support of the National ticket.

One or two people sent checks to Richard Croker "for the use of the local ticket only." These were promptly returned with a note from Richard Croker, saying that Tammany wanted neither money nor support for its local ticket unless it came from people who would support the National ticket.

Every move made by the Republicans was quickly checkmated and discounted. John I. Davenport raised his usual cry of "colonization" and the public laughed at him. The Republicans swore in scores of deputy marshals with the idea of intimidating voters. That some of these marshals turned out to be good Democrats was not so much the fault as the misfortune of Mr. Davenport. Tammany organized a committee of lawyers who informed voters of their rights.

No point was left uncovered. The minutest detail was attended to. And so, with its mighty machinery perfected in every part; Tammany's army marched to the polls and victory.

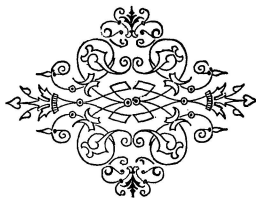
"There will be a wonderful and magnificent Democratic victory to-morrow," said Richard Croker on the night before the election. The returns tell the rest of the story. New York City gave Mr. Cleveland a plurality of 76,300 votes! And on the morning after the election the Democracy of the Nation doffed its hat to magnificent Tammany. The following shows the vote by assembly districts for President and for Mayor. Edwin Einstein was Thomas F. Gilroy's opponent.

	<i>President.</i>		<i>Mayor.</i>	
	CLEVELAND.	HARRISON.	GILROY.	EINSTEIN.
1	6,047	2,139	6,100	2,051
2	9,136	2,224	9,206	2,110
3	5,449	2,591	5,402	2,543
4	5,084	2,212	5,002	2,240
5	5,306	3,026	5,193	3,099
6	6,171	3,241	6,092	3,115
7	7,580	4,326	7,537	4,104
8	7,445	4,617	7,434	4,532
9	6,013	4,579	6,012	4,490
10	6,953	3,019	6,940	2,871
11	4,395	3,809	4,255	3,866
12	5,778	2,472	5,774	2,393
13	5,790	4,065	5,829	3,967
14	6,680	2,659	6,654	2,597
15	5,353	3,230	5,344	3,193
16	6,904	3,098	6,689	3,155
17	4,520	3,053	4,480	3,021
18	5,077	2,936	5,023	2,929
19	5,490	3,423	5,418	3,380
20	4,534	1,973	4,415	2,026
21	5,014	4,014	4,618	4,315
22	4,989	2,355	4,838	2,316
23	5,807	5,009	5,685	5,021
24	5,536	2,990	5,466	2,992
25	5,095	2,488	5,037	2,490
26	7,028	4,062	6,913	4,030
27	7,056	5,457	7,125	5,258
28	5,199	3,885	5,270	3,810
29	5,622	3,347	5,559	3,323
30	4,216	2,728	4,200	2,685
Total	<u>175,267</u>	<u>98,967</u>	<u>173,510</u>	<u>97,923</u>

Cleveland's plurality over Harrison, 76,300. Gilroy over Einstein, 75,587.

Just as Tammany aided so materially in the election of Mr. Cleveland so will it aid his Administration in every way that lies in its power. At the meeting for organization of the Tammany General Committee for 1893, held on January 13, the resolutions adopted included the following :

“ The success of Democracy and the election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency is a victory of courage and fidelity to principles and an uprising of patriotism and civic pride. His integrity, firmness and sound sense, with the patriotism and wisdom of the Democratic representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States, give assurance that business tranquility and financial confidence will be restored ; that the industrial and commercial growth of the country will be enlarged, and its commercial marine will become competitors for the carrying trade of the world ; that the principle of free, popular government, based upon individual liberty, will be maintained in its integrity under the Constitution ; that sectional hate and race differences will be laid aside forever, that home rule will take the place of centralization, and that honesty and economy in the administration of the Government will take the place of the profligacy of expenditure which has characterized the Republican Administration, and which emptied a rich treasury and piled up new burdens of taxation upon the overburdened labor of the country.”



TAMMANY FROM WITHIN.

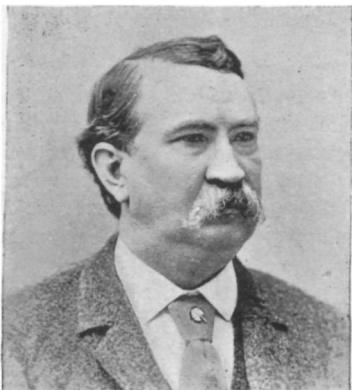
ITS PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

BY T. MITCHELL TYNG.

It is a strange thing to contemplate! the fact that a large number of the citizens of this State live, move, and have their political being in the presence of an enemy whom they do not understand, but to whom they attribute the most unheard of terrors. To them the simple term "Tammany," or "Tammany Hall," stands for everything that is bad. A distinguished member of the New York Bar, an Ex-President of the United States Civil Service Commission, has, in a late number of an influential magazine, declared that these words signify "a mercenary and merciless despotism; a combination of the spirit of the Indian and the Spoilsman; a sphere of intellectual and moral barrenness without patriotism or principle; an institution composed of Lilliputs in usefulness and Brobdignags in rascality, in the hands of savage and venal partisans, on a level with gamblers, thieves, and pirates, who never apologize, and who would be ruined by any attempt at justification, etc., etc." The author of these phrases is an amiable and courteous gentleman, and a profound and careful lawyer; and it is hard to conceive that his forcible expressions against a large body of his fellow-citizens are intended by him to be taken in any other than a Pickwickian sense. To answer his charges, it is only necessary to ascertain what "Tammany" really means.

I. The "Tammany Society," or "Columbian Order," must not be confounded with the "Tammany Hall Democracy" of the City of New York. They are separate and distinct bodies, holding the same relationship, and none other, as is held by the Equitable Life Assurance Society to the Lawyers' Club—that of landlord and tenant. It is true that the Sachems, the Father of the Council, the Scribe, the Wiskinski, the Sagamore, and many of the private Indians of the "Society" are also members of the "Democracy," but that is because the gentlemen in question have seen fit to become members of both. The Sachems are not "feudal lords over the Tammany Democracy," nor have they anything to do with the appointment of Democratic leaders. The Society has no concern with the Democracy, except to lease to it suitable rooms for its meetings; it is not to be credited with any of the Democracy's triumphs, or charged with any of its shortcomings. The Society continues, in its own unobtrusive way, to fulfill the purposes for which it was organized over one hundred years ago; and the only occasions when it comes before the public is on the Fourth of July in each year. Then its hospitable doors are thrown wide open, and a large and enthusiastic audience is gathered within its walls; fine music and abundant refreshments are provided; the Declaration of Independence is read, and eminent orators deliver the "long talks" and the "short talks" in honor of the day.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT LEADERS.



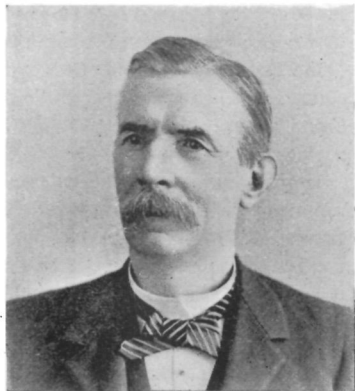
FIRST DISTRICT, MICHAEL C. MURPHY.



SECOND DISTRICT, PATRICK DIVVER.



THIRD DISTRICT, TIMOTHY D. SULLIVAN.



FOURTH DISTRICT, EDWARD T. FITZPATRICK.



FIFTH DISTRICT, WILLIAM J. MCKENNA.



SIXTH DISTRICT, PATRICK KEENAN.

The most enthusiastic patriot can have no substantial grievance against the "Society."

The real attack, therefore, is against the "Democracy," and not the "Society." As I understand it, it is not directed against Democratic principles in the abstract, but against the practices of a specific Democratic organization. The attack is not new; it has been met over and over again; it has no real foundation in fact; and a large proportion of the voters of this State believe it to be ill-deserved. It is no hardship to meet it again, but it can never be met in the pages of a magazine of this dignity and catholicity by negations. The champion of the Tammany Hall Democracy must state what it *is*—not what it *is not*.

II. I suppose it will be conceded that the only organized Democratic party in this city is that known by the name of Tammany, its real name being the Democratic-Republican Party. It is Democratic because its cardinal doctrine is that all men are equal in political powers and rights; it is Republican (and the name is very dear to us), because we believe that this doctrine alone, carried to its fullest extent, will conserve the public weal. We contend that we are the only true Republicans, and that our political opponents are not entitled to, or worthy of the name.

The Tammany Hall Democracy being a constituent body, there must be a constituency for which it acts; and this consists primarily of the one hundred and fifty thousand Democratic voters of the County of New York, whom no abuse of their organization can drive away from their devotion to Democratic principles. The actual members of the body are so many of these voters as see fit to enroll themselves as such, and are willing to aid the work of the party by contributions of money or services in its cause. From this assemblage of enrolled voters is formed a "General Committee," consisting of about five thousand men, who are selected in due proportions, from the thirty Assembly Districts in which the City is divided. This General Committee meets once a month and is the repository of all organic power. It sits as a County Convention in October of each year and puts in nomination the candidates for the respective offices which it desires to have elected in the following month. A sub-Committee of this body, called the Committee on Organization, consisting of about one thousand delegates from the several Assembly Districts, sits once a month, or oftener, as occasion may require, and transacts such business as the General Committee refers to it. It arranges the details of the election and prescribes the system to be pursued throughout the City in order to bring to the polls the greatest number of Democratic voters. The object of every member of the organization being to elect its candidates, all lawful means which will produce that result are unhesitatingly adopted. An amusing chronicler of old New York relates that, in the early days of Tammany Hall, a *roasted pig* formed a prominent feature at its banquets, and that allegiance was sworn with the right hand laid thereon, indicating that the party adherents would go "the whole hog" in support of its principles and its measures. This, we are proud to say, if it be expressed in more refined terms, is the principle upon which every true member of the party now acts.

III. Then there is an Executive Committee of some thirty members, one from each Assembly District, each member being the leader of the party in his own district. By this Committee all the internal affairs of the organization are directed, its candi-

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT LEADERS.



SEVENTH DISTRICT, GEORGE F. ROESCH.



EIGHTH DISTRICT, BERNARD F. MARTIN.



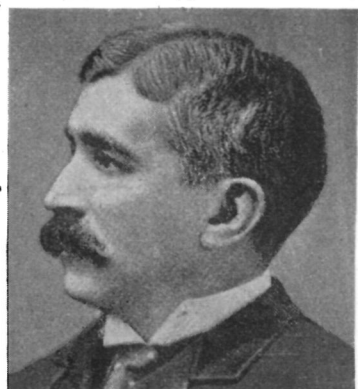
NINTH DISTRICT, JAMES FITZPATRICK.



TENTH DISTRICT, JOHN REILLY.



ELEVENTH DISTRICT, JOHN J. SCANNELL.



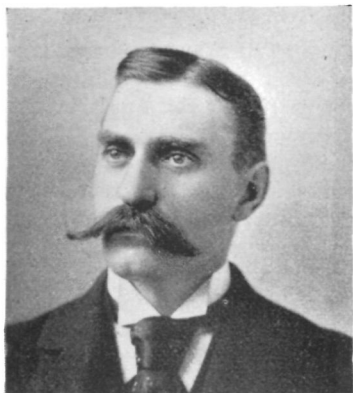
TWELFTH DISTRICT, EDWARD P. HAGAN.

dates for office are selected and the plans for every campaign matured. It is constituted by the most Democratic method, each district electing its own member; and yet it is this Committee to which one critic refers as "the mercenary and irresponsible *junto*," the "despots by whom the party is ruled," and "whose yoke is upon the neck of every Democrat." There is not a word of truth in all this. The so-called *junto* is neither mercenary nor irresponsible, its rule is advisory merely and not despotic, and, so far as I have been able to learn, no member of the party has ever felt the weight of its yoke. As well might this be claimed in respect to the loan committee of a bank or the executive committee of an insurance company, who are as despotic in their way as the Executive Committee of Tammany Hall, in that their conclusions and recommendations are uniformly approved and adopted by the constituents. With us the constituency have more power in the selection of the Executive Committee than have the stockholders of the bank or the policy-holders of the insurance company under the same circumstances. Each member of our Committee is annually appointed by the voters of the district which he represents; he holds his position at their pleasure, and is directly responsible to them for the manner in which he executes his trust. In no way are the true principles of Democracy more clearly manifested than in the selection and organization of this Executive Committee.

Before the work of this Executive Committee can be properly criticised, the object for which it was appointed must be considered. It is the captain of the Democratic ship, the general of the Democratic forces; and it exists for the sole purpose of bringing that ship safely into port and leading those forces to victory. It is not put there to please our political enemies, or to hear or act upon their suggestions. Its members are wise managers and good politicians. They and their constituents are firmly convinced that the greatest benefit they can confer upon the body politic is to keep the Democratic party in power, and we of the rank and file have no fault to find as to the manner in which their arduous duties are performed. The directors of a bank have a similar duty, and when their constituents are satisfied with their performance of it, it is not claimed that any one else has the right to interfere. I do not mean to claim that our Executive Committee and the entire organization are above public criticism. Its responsibility is fully recognized, as hereinafter stated, to the community which it serves. It does not expect to be trusted with political power one hour after it has ceased to deserve it. It fully appreciates the omnipotence of public opinion; its methods are consistent and open; and it courts investigation and criticism by every fair-minded man. But vituperative abuse in general terms is not fair-minded criticism of particular acts.

IV. Equally unjust is the attack upon our constituency. I have seen much of social life in New York, and have been familiar with the personnel of large bodies of its citizens; and I do not hesitate to say that the five thousand men who compose the General Committee of Tammany Hall are the equals, in everything that makes up a good citizen, to any other body of the same size that can be gathered. I speak advisedly when I say that no man can be a scoundrel, a "gambler, thief or pirate," and keep his name upon our rolls. I know of persons who have been dropped because their good names were seriously questioned; and in my time no person has been presented by the organization for office, or elevated to prominence in its councils, against

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT LEADERS.



THIRTEENTH DISTRICT, JOHN C. SHEEHAN.



FOURTEENTH DISTRICT, JAMES P. KEATING.



FIFTEENTH DISTRICT, WILLIAM DALTON.



SIXTEENTH DISTRICT, JOHN F. CARROLL.



SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT, PETER J. DOOLING.



EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT, GEORGE W. PLUNKITT.

whom anything wrong could be truthfully said. We do not claim that these five thousand men are "angels" with wings, or that every Tammany office-holder is perfect; but we do claim, and with the utmost confidence, that, so far as the governing body can ascertain, they are all "good men and true," fully the equals, in all the essentials of true manhood, of the best of their fellow-citizens.

V. A principle which Tammany Hall maintains with the utmost tenacity is that authority and responsibility must always go together. In the Democratic affairs of this county, and within the scope of its powers, Tammany asserts its supremacy, and when the constituted authorities of the organization have spoken the most absolute submission is required from its members. In return, when the National and State conventions and Committees of the Democracy are heard in respect to National and State affairs and issues, the Tammany Hall Democracy of this county yields the most prompt and loyal obedience. It leaves to its superiors the responsibility of guiding the party in the State and National canvasses; but in county affairs it takes up a responsibility commensurate with its authority. When, therefore, a Tammany Hall candidate is elected or appointed to office, he knows that he owes his position to the organization; that he has its reputation *pro tanto* in his keeping, and that it has taken the responsibility for his official conduct. He knows that a faithful performance of the duties which he owes to the public will reflect credit, not only upon himself, but upon the body that has placed him in the front, and that the surest way to benefit himself and his party is to keep in mind and act upon the principle that "public office is a public trust." This *amour propre* which the office-holder always feels for the organization makes him the better public servant.

VI. A few words in conclusion in respect to what is called the "Spoils." I hardly know the meaning of the term in politics. It is supposed to mean the property of the vanquished confiscated by the conqueror; but I have never heard that the Democracy, on acquiring power, undertook to rob their unsuccessful opponents. Of course, what is meant is that Tammany, on acquiring the power, and assuming responsibility for the conduct of public affairs in this city, administers these affairs by its own members, whose conduct it can control, and see to it that the parties who perform the duties of an office shall receive the lawful emoluments thereof. These are all the spoils of office that I have ever heard of. There are, undoubtedly, a few offices in this city to which an excessive income is attached, but there are hundreds of other offices, the duties of which are very arduous, and the rewards very inadequate. I believe the average compensation, to the conscientious office-holder in New York City, is less than would be paid for the same service in private business of equal magnitude.

I have thus in a very summary way presented the Tammany Hall Democracy as it is known to its own members, with the conviction that accession to its ranks will always follow a fair investigation of its principles and methods. It does not apologize for its acts, nor seek to justify them, because no act is committed which needs apology, and each action carries with it its own justification. Firmly convinced that the surest way to benefit our loved country is to keep the Democratic party in power, we do not consider that any lawful act which will tend to produce that result requires either apology or justification.

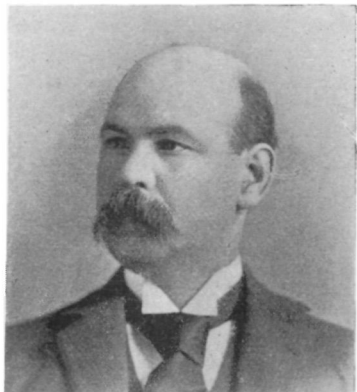
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT LEADERS.



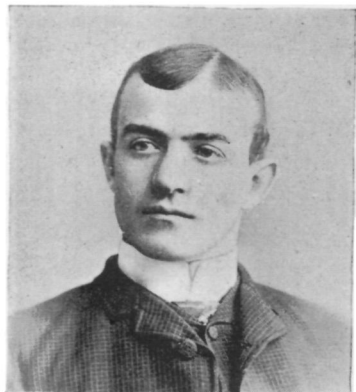
NINETEENTH DIST., DANIEL F. McMAHON.



TWENTIETH DISTRICT, THOMAS J. DUNN



TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT, JAMES J. MARTIN.



TWENTY-SECOND DIST., MAURICE FEATHERSON.



TWENTY-THIRD DIST., JOHN B. SEXTON.



TWENTY-FOURTH DIST., LAWRENCE DELMOUR.

NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY W. J. O'SULLIVAN, M. D.

The issues arising out of the pre-revolutionary discussions gave birth to two parties, styled Whigs and Tories.

The Whig Party, early in 1776, advocated absolute separation from Great Britain and completed its mission at the close of the Revolutionary War in 1787.

The Tory Party, composed of the conservative and vacillating, died with the Revolution in 1783.

The issue of the Revolution being settled, the Whig party was the only one from 1783 to 1787, when it divided into two parties on the question of the scope, powers and composition of National government. These parties were known as the Particularists and Strong Government men.

Particularists advocated governmental confederation that should not interfere with State autonomy, holding that State government should be supreme.

Strong Government Men favored subversion of State governments and the concentration of power in the central Federal authority.

Anti-Federal Party.—Under this title the Particularists were known from 1787 to 1789. They opposed the Federal scheme of government until after the adoption of the Constitution, when they became Close Constructionists, interpreting the Constitution rigidly and literally.

Federal Party.—Under this name the Strong Government men were known from 1787 to 1820. They were broad Constructionists of the Constitution, and so interpreted it as to invest the Federal government with the largest power. They were absorbed by the Republican party in 1820.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT LEADERS.



TWENTY-FIFTH DIST., JOHN J. RYAN.



TWENTY-SIXTH DIST. WILLIAM H. BURKE.



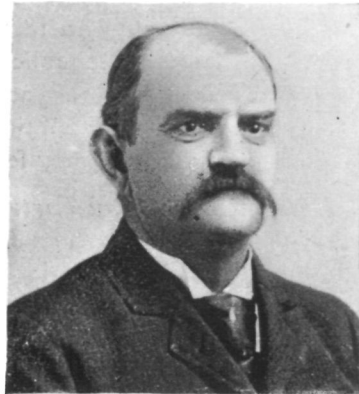
TWENTY-SEVENTH DIST., CHARLES WELDE.



TWENTY-EIGHTH DIST., WILLIAM E. STILLINGS.



TWENTY-NINTH DIST' JACOB SEABOLD.



THIRTIETH DIST., JOHN B SHEA.

Democratic-Republican Party.—Under this name the Anti-Federalists became known from 1789 to 1790. They were the ardent supporters and friends of our Republican form of government, advocating most earnestly our popular institutions, and rejecting as unsuited to their tenets the Anti-Federal name.

Republican Party.—In 1791 the Democratic-Republican party discarded the name Democratic and preferred to be known as the Republican party. From 1817 to 1828 this organization was practically the only party existent.

Clintonian Party.—In 1812 De Witt Clinton and his small following were styled Clintonians. They had severed their connection with the Republican party, taking umbrage at the monopoly Virginia exercised in Federal patronage. They returned to the Republican fold in 1815.

The Peace Party.—A small party who had left the Federalists in 1812, and whose ulterior purpose was to oppose the war of that period and array the religious sentiment against the Federal Executive.

Washington Benevolent Society.—Grouped themselves under similar conditions and with similar objects as the Peace party.

Anti-Masonic Party.—Formed in 1827 with the avowed object of suppressing secret societies and excluding their members from holding public office. This party lasted from 1827 until 1834, when it coalesced with the Nullification and National Republican party in forming the Whig party in 1834.

Democratic Party.—In 1827 a faction of the Republican party discarded the name of Republican and adopted the name Democratic. They were led by General Jackson, were Close Constructionists and proudly pointed to their political lineage from Jefferson. They were the dominant political party for some more than half a century.

National Republican Party.—After the split in the Republican ranks in 1827, those who adhered to Adams adopted the prefix "National" in 1828, to indicate the National character of their principles in contra-distinction to sectional policy which they charged Jackson and the Democratic party with upholding. This party, in conjunction with the Nullification and the Anti-Masonic parties, formed the Whig party of 1834.



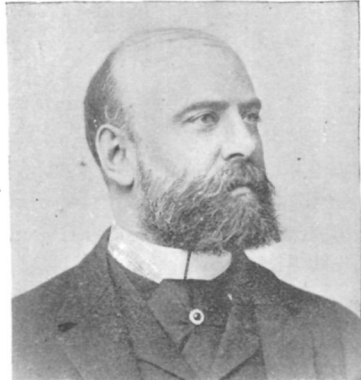
CONGRESSMAN TIMOTHY J. CAMPBELL.



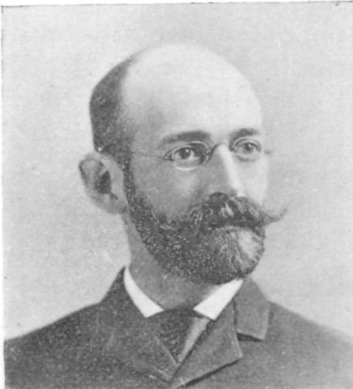
CONGRESSMAN AMOS J. CUMMINGS.



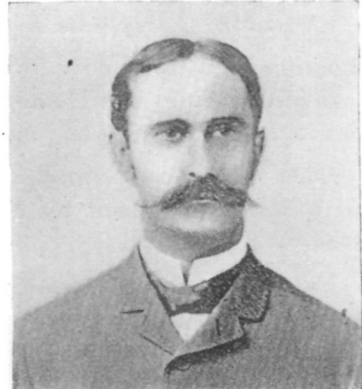
CONGRESSMAN JOHN DEWITT WARNER.



CONGRESSMAN ASHBEL P. FITCH.



CONGRESSMAN EDWARD J. DUNPHY.



CONGRESSMAN FRANKLIN BARTLETT.

Nullification Party.—Subsequent to the disruption in President Jackson's cabinet, John C. Calhoun, inspired by ambition, labored to organize a party of his own, inciting the slave-power to array itself against the administration. Nullification was the principal doctrine he advocated. His followers were few and disbanded in 1833, returning to the Democratic party as a body, a few seeking refuge with the Whigs.

Whig Party.—The intense political excitement during President Jackson's régime caused three parties—the National Republican, Anti-Masonic and Nullification—to consolidate and form the Whig party in 1834. After General Scott, who was the last candidate of this party, was defeated by Franklin Pierce, in 1852, disorganization led to the disbandment that drove the members forming this party into the camps of the many other political parties then in the political field.

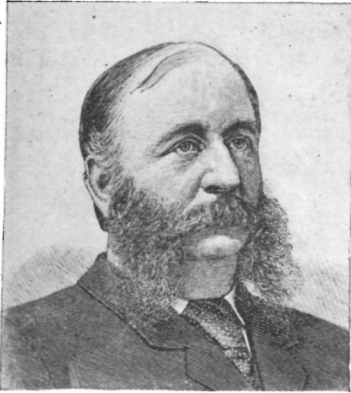
Locofoco Party.—A meeting was held in Tammany Hall, in 1835, by an ambitious fragment of the Democratic party who styled themselves "Equal Rights" party. Great confusion prevailed during this meeting, lights were extinguished, but the room was subsequently illuminated by candles and a peculiar kind of match called Locofoco, from which the party received this nick-name.

Abolition Party.—The Anti-Slavery Society, organized in 1833, dissolved in 1839, the members composing which reorganized under the title "Abolition Party." They held one convention in 1839, and in 1840 dropped this title and adopted that of "Liberty Party."

Liberty Party.—With the same principles espoused by the Abolition party, this party received many new members from the ranks of the Whigs and Democrats, and after holding a few conventions it remodeled itself and merged in the Free-Soil party in 1848.

Barn-burners and Hunkers.—Two factions of the Democratic party—were so dubbed by the opposition after the Polk canvass of 1854.

Native American Party.—Some narrow-minded men, alarmed at the great influx of foreigners, organized to disfranchise Catholics and immigrants. They were generally styled "Natives," and, after a feeble existence, faded away in 1852.



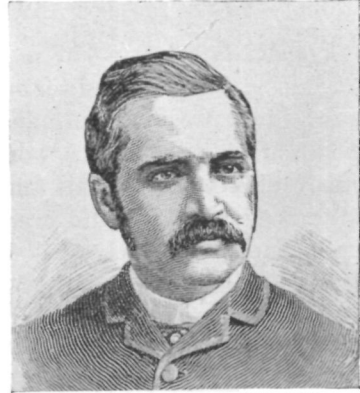
SACHEM CHARLES E. SIMMONS.



SACHEM JOHN H. V. ARNOLD.



SACHEM CHARLES M. CLANCY.



SACHEM THOMAS L. FEITNER.



SAGAMORE WILLIAM H. DOBBS.



TREASURER: JOHN McQUADE.

Free-Soil Party.—This party was composed of the Liberty party and the Barn-burners, who seceded from the Democrats in 1848, had little vitality and died of inanition in 1855.

Silver-Grey Party.—Begotten of personal ambition and factional animosity in 1850, it expired after a short life of comparatively few months.

The Know-Nothing or American Party.—Formed in 1852 with a policy and membership identical with that of the Native American party, simply adding to the old creed "Purification of the Ballot Box," and insisting that the bible be used in the public schools. It was called "The Know-Nothing Party," because its members, when interrogated respecting their order, replied "They knew nothing."

Republican Party.—The first steps towards the organization of this party was during the early months of 1854 at Ripon in Wisconsin. Those advocating the formation of the new party wished to be unfettered by a pro-slavery wing. In 1855 the Whigs, Free-Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Democrats and the Anti-Slavery Americans, fused and thus gave birth to the organization that we of to-day know as the Republican party. General Fremont was this party's first presidential nominee. In 1856 he was defeated, but Lincoln carried the election in 1860 and brought this party into power in 1861, where it has held sway until dislodged by the Democratic party under Cleveland in 1884.

Labor Reform Party.—The many Trades Unions combining in 1872 acquired this title, became a factor in politics, but, owing to the importation of communistic teachings, became so disorganized and debilitated as to pass quietly from the political field.

Liberal Republican Party.—A large section of the Republican party, becoming dissatisfied with the Grant administration, seceded in 1870, assumed a National importance in 1871 and offered a presidential nominee in 1872, who was sustained to a considerable extent by the Democratic party.

Temperance Party.—The many temperance societies scattered through the United States acted in concert in 1872 and pretentiously assumed a National importance. In 1876, remodeling to some extent

their organization and platform, they adopted the name " Prohibition Reform Party."

National Greenback Party.—In 1873 the financial disturbances ushered in inflation theories which were readily adopted by this party. They urged an increase of the paper money of the government, claiming many advantages therefor. They offered presidential nominees in 1876 and 1880 and died a natural death in 1885.

Farmers' Alliance.—This party was the outcome of a strong craving on the part of agriculturists in 1885 to receive a larger representation in the Legislature and aid them by opportunity in realizing Utopia. After some modifying influences from many sympathetic sources it eventuated as the People's party.

Populists or People's Party.—Formed in 1887 by Farmers' Alliance and kindred visionaries, with the following shibboleths: " Free Silver, Free Whiskey, Woman Suffrage," etc., etc.



INCORPORATED 88 YEARS AGO.

The act incorporating the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York, was passed by the Legislature on April 9, 1805. It was worded as follows :

WHEREAS, William Mooney and others, inhabitants of the City of New York, have presented a petition to the Legislature setting forth that they, since the year 1789, have associated themselves under the name and description of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity ; they, therefore, solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said society for the purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem meet.

Therefore,

Be it enacted by the People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, that such persons as now are, or shall from time to time become members of the said society, shall be and are hereby ordained, constituted and declared to be a body corporate and politic, in deed, fact and name, by the name of "The Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York," and that by that name they and their successors shall have succession, and shall be persons in law capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, etc.

"They may have a common seal, which they can alter and change at their pleasure. They are empowered to hold lands and personal property," for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed, provided the clear yearly value of such real and personal estates shall not exceed the sum of \$5,000. Power to lease and sell real estate is given. They may make by-laws, regulations, etc., for

the election of officers and the election and admission of new members, provided that such by-laws and regulations shall not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State ; and for the better carrying on the business and affairs of the said corporation there shall be such number of officers of the said corporation, and of such denomination or denominations, to be chosen in such manner and at such time and places as are now or shall be from time to time, to be directed by the constitution and by-laws of the said corporation, made or to be made for that purpose, and that such number and description of members shall be sufficient to constitute a legal meeting of the said corporation as are now, or may hereafter be directed by the said constitution and by-laws of the said corporation.

And be it further enacted that this act be and hereby is declared to be a public act and that the same be construed in all events and places, benignly and favorably for every beneficial purpose therein intended.



MAURICE F. HOLAHAN,
SCRIBE OF THE SOCIETY.

OFFICIAL BALLOTS.

The Many Difficulties that had to be Overcome in Printing Them.

From the standpoint of the practical reformer in politics, Tammany Hall, through the advice of its leaders to the Legislature, has been the means of providing the voter with a secret ballot, at the same time enabling him, if he be blind, maimed or unable to read or write, to cast that ballot for the candidates of his choice without restrictions of any kind. From the standpoint of the theorist this may be doubted. But with theorists Tammany Hall has nothing to do. To realize the theorists' view would be practically to deprive thousands of honest, earnest, and therefore good, citizens, whose opportunities to procure education have been limited, from casting their ballots as they desire. However he may seek to hide it, the fact is that the ultimate purpose of the educated theorist is to limit, if not to deprive, the poor and the uneducated, whom he is used to speak of as the ignorant, from a part in the choice of the representatives of the people in the several legislative branches of the city, State and Nation. It was aristocracy of this kind that Tammany Hall came into existence to combat, and which it has fought for more than one hundred years.

But it is of the official ballot, as it was determined upon by and through the advice of Tammany Hall, and not of that institution itself, that this article is to treat. In the preparation of that ballot there are difficulties met and overcome in this city that are not encountered in a similar work anywhere else in the United States. Here there are more than three hundred thousand voters, each of whom must be given an opportunity to select the ballot he will cast. And in a city so subject to factional disturbance, there is the possibility at times that it will be the duty of those who have the matter in charge to provide even as many as twenty ballots, from which a choice may be made. That number of ballots has not yet had to

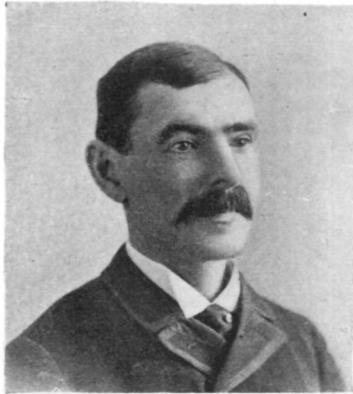


POLICE JUSTICE THOMAS F. GRADY.

be printed, but in 1891 there were, in certain districts of the city, sixteen different ballots. Assuming that number to be provided for each of the 1,137 districts of the city, and 650 of each kind for each district, the aggregate number for the city would be 11,824,800.

But, in addition, one-quarter more would have to be printed in blank, so that they might be ready for the insertion of the names of possible independent candidates. For instance, last year only thirteen ballots were necessary in most of the districts, but the printer had to make ready three more full sets of blanks for emergencies, so that 11,824,800 ballots were then printed, wholly or in part.

Can you imagine the enormity of this task? Every ballot has to be numbered, the numbers running from 1 to 650 on each set for



SERGEANT-AT-ARMS ROBERT KELLY.

each election district. Then there must be a perforated line between the body of the ballot and the numbered stub, so that the stub may be easily torn off by the poll clerk and deposited in a box apart from that in which the body is put.

Excepting the Government Printing Office in Washington, there is scarcely another printing establishment in which such an extraordinary work could be done than that of Martin B. Brown. As soon as the ballot law was passed, Mr. Brown, whose pride it has been for years to be ready at all times to respond to whatever demands might be made upon him by the many corporations that use his office, began to prepare himself to print the ballots. The

first difficulty he met with was in the task of numbering them. This, he and his lieutenants, G. Radford Kelso and Wm. H. Haynes, studied for weeks. Device after device was tried and found lacking in some respect. Innumerable numbering machines were tested, and at last it seemed likely that it would be necessary to employ a machine for the use of which the inventor asked an extraordinary price, which would have compelled the printer to charge a very large sum to the city for his work. But an emergency develops invention, and Mr. Brown and his assistants hit upon a simple device which cost little or nothing and served the purpose. There was not an indistinct number on a ballot when the work was finished.

To save time, as the law permits nominations to be made up to the limit of the period in which compositors and presses could make the ballots, the numbering and the printing of the district designations were done in advance. Then came the extraordinary task of collating the sheets on which the printing was done, according to the districts. This was a task in which hundreds of nimble-fingered girls were employed. Next the names of the candidates were printed, and then another collation had to be done. The sheets were afterward cut into ballot form, and the girls once more worked, and finally packed the ballots into boxes, one box for each set of ballots for each Election District. Altogether 14,820 boxes were necessary for the packing in 1892; each box containing 650 ballots, the aggregate number being 9,633,000.

As said before, 11,824,800 ballots were prepared, but 1,191,800 were made only in blank, and were not necessary upon the day of polling.

One can better understand the magnitude of this work when he considers that for it 1,800 reams of paper, in sheets 50 by 30 inches, and weighing in the aggregate seventy-five tons, were used. And if this does not affect the mind of the reader, perhaps he may deign to wonder at the fact that the ballots placed end to end would reach from New York to Galveston, Texas. Does any one need to go further? No good Tammany man wants to go out of the United States.

While the establishment of Mr. Brown was employed at the task of preparing the ballots it continued to do the work necessary for the National and State Democratic Committees, railroad corpora-

tions and mercantile houses, as well as to print the daily issues of the City's official journal, the *City Record*, the contract to print and distribute which Mr. Brown has had for eighteen years. And in the course of this last-mentioned work it compassed the great task of compiling and printing the names of all the voters registered, within eighty-four hours after the registry books were closed. It is hard, perhaps, for a layman to understand how great must be the capacity of an establishment that can do such work. To a printer it is a marvel.

But this was intended merely as an account of the work done in providing ballots for the voters of New York. Other matters have crept into it almost of necessity. So let them remain. If the reader



READING SEC'Y JOHN B. MCGOLDRICK.

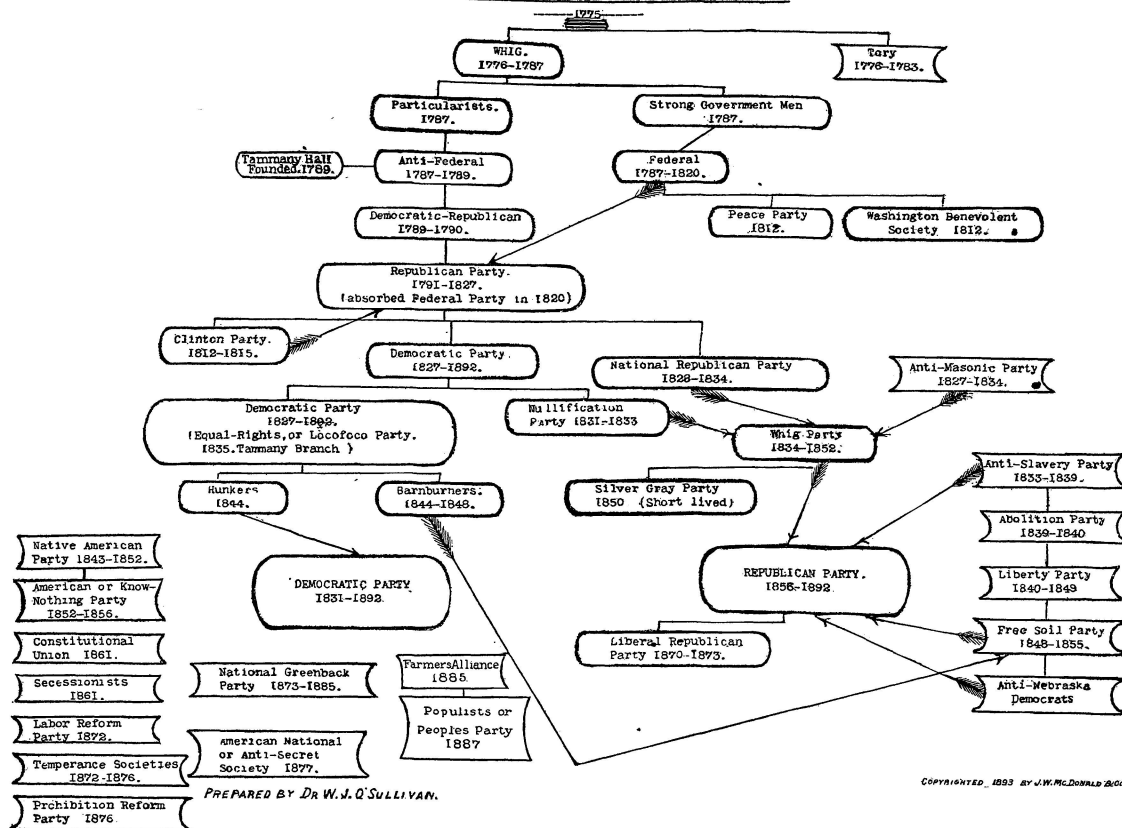


WISKINKIE DANIEL M. DONEGAN.

cannot understand from what has been said, how hard, thoughtful and careful a thing it is to provide the voters of the City of New York with the means necessary to express their will on election day, nothing more can be said here to enlighten him.

In the old days when every political party or faction had its ballots printed where it chose, mistakes almost innumerable were found in them. In the three years that Martin B. Brown has printed the official ballots only one error has happened; and when that was traced, its source was found to be a clerical error. As a contrast to this record it is just to point to the fact that the "pasters," prepared for Tammany Hall last year, and which at almost the last moment were found to be incorrect in shape, were not made in this establishment.

NO PARTY ISSUES UNTIL THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

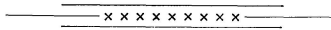


PREPARED BY DR W. J. Q. SULLIVAN.

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A POLITICAL GENEALOGY.

BY-LAWS, RULES AND REGULATIONS
OF THE
GENERAL COMMITTEE
OF
TAMMANY HALL.



SECTION 1. The basis of the organization of the Democratic General Committee shall be one member for every fifty Democratic electors in each Assembly District in this city.

Each member shall reside in the Assembly District which he was elected to represent.

§ 2. Admission to all meetings of this General Committee shall be by ticket only or such other style of check as may be decided upon by the Printing Committee. And when a member of the General Committee shall be found to have given away or loaned his ticket or check to an unauthorized person not a member, the matter shall be referred to the Committee on Organization for investigation ; and, if proven, the facts shall be reported to the General Committee, with a recommendation that he be expelled.

§ 3. If any member shall omit to attend any three successive regular meetings of the General Committee or of the General Committee in his District, unless his absence is excused by the Committee to which it may have been referred for investigation, his seat may be declared vacant.

§ 4. In case of vacancy in any delegation from any Assembly District to the General Committee, the power of filling the same shall devolve upon a majority of the delegates of such District, who shall report the name or names to the Committee on Organization, to be approved by the same if found correct, and the facts in relation thereto be reported to the General Committee for confirmation.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS.

SEC. I. The officers of the Committee shall consist of a Chairman, one Vice-Chairman from each Assembly District, a Treasurer, a Reading Secretary, three Recording Secretaries, a Sergeant-at-Arms, and one Secretary from each Assembly District.

§ 2. They shall be chosen annually, at the first meeting in January, or as soon thereafter as a choice can be effected.

§ 3. The officers of the General Committee shall be *ex-officio* members of the Committee on Organization.

§ 4. All elections shall be held in such manner as may be directed by the General Committee. The vote of a majority of the whole number of members shall be necessary to a choice.

ARTICLE III.

MEETINGS.

SEC. I. The Regular Meeting of the Committee shall be held on the first Friday of each month, or at such time as may be designated by the Committee.

§ 2. Special meetings may be held on the call of the Chairman, and adjourned meetings by a vote of the Committee. Notice in writing, of special and adjourned meetings, shall be sent to all the members.

§ 3. The hour of meeting shall be half-past seven o'clock, from October to April, both inclusive, and eight o'clock during the other months.

§ 4. All meetings of the Committee shall be held at Tammany Hall.

ARTICLE IV.

CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN.

SEC. I. The Chairman shall call the Committee to order and preside over its meetings. He shall preserve decorum, and shall decide all questions of order, subject to an appeal to the Committee. On an appeal he shall have a right to assign, in his place, the reason for his decision.

§ 2. The Chairman may place another member in the chair, if he desires to participate otherwise in the business of the Committee; or, if unable to act, he may appoint a substitute.

§ 3. A Vice-Chairman shall act in the absence of the Chairman, subject to the rules herein.

ARTICLE V.

TREASURER.

SEC. 1. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys collected for or accruing to the Committee. He shall keep correct books of accounts of all moneys received and disbursed by him, and shall deposit the funds in his possession as Treasurer in such bank or banks as may be designated by the Committee on Organization.

§ 2. At the regular meeting at the end of each year the Treasurer shall present a detailed account of his receipts and disbursements for the current year, and shall also state the balance of funds remaining in his hands.

§ 3. No money shall be paid by the Treasurer, except by order of the Committee, or on bills audited by the Finance Committee.

§ 4. At the regular meeting of the Committee in December, a Committee of three shall be appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer, who shall report 'as to their correctness; and he shall deliver the books, papers and funds in his possession to the Treasurer of the Committee for the succeeding year, upon his election.

ARTICLE VI.

SECRETARIES.

SEC. 1. The Secretaries shall call the roll of the Committee whenever necessary; keep correct minutes of the proceedings of the Committee, and the division list upon every call of the ayes and nays, and record the same in a book to be provided for that purpose; file all papers belonging to the Committee, and carefully keep the same and its books; notify, in writing, all Committees of their appointment, duties, and of business referred to them, and furnish them with copies of all resolutions, and generally perform such other duties of their office as may be customary, or as may be directed by the Chairman of the Committee.

§ 2. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to prepare notices of all special and adjourned meetings to be sent to members; and the Secretaries, or in their absence the Chairman, shall cause a notice of every meeting of the Committee to be published in such papers and in such manner as the Committee may direct.

§ 3. The Chairman shall define the duties of the Secretaries severally, and they shall deliver all the books and papers in their possession to the Committee for the year next ensuing, upon its due organization.

ARTICLE VII.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

SEC. 1. The Sergeant-at-Arms shall keep the door at all meetings of the Committee, and shall admit no person into the room except members, unless the admission of such person is previously authorized by a vote of the Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

COMMITTEES.

SEC. 1. All Committees shall be appointed by the Chairman, unless otherwise directed by the Committee, except the Committee on Organization, which shall be chosen by a majority of the delegates to the General Committee for each Assembly District.

§ 2. The Standing Committees shall be as follows :

A Finance Committee of seven members.

A Corresponding Committee of seven members.

A Naturalization Committee of seven members.

A Printing Committee of seven members.

A Committee on Organization of thirty members from each Assembly District.

§ 3. The Finance Committee shall diligently apply themselves to the collection of funds for the use of this Committee, and as often as the amount collected shall reach one hundred dollars, the same shall be paid over to the Treasurer. The said Committee may also appoint one collector. The Finance Committee shall also audit bills, and certify to the correctness of the same, and shall report to this Committee whenever called upon by its Chairman, or by this Committee.

§ 4. The Corresponding Committee shall conduct all correspondence which may not be otherwise directed, and shall, from time to time, communicate information received by them.

§ 5. The Naturalization Committee shall be charged with the duty of assisting in the naturalization of persons desiring to become citizens, and of preventing the naturalization of persons not entitled thereto.

§ 6. The Printing Committee shall have charge of all the printing authorized by this Committee, and shall examine and certify as to the correctness of all bills therefor, before the same are presented to the Finance Committee.

§ 7. The Committee on Organization shall be charged with the consideration of all matters relating to the organization of the Democratic party, the call of primary elections, and the conducting of primary, general, special and charter elections and shall, in their discretion have power of revision and substitution of all nominations hereafter made by Conventions called by this General Committee, or any District Committee of this Organization, whenever the honor, preservation and integrity of this organization shall require such action. The Committee on Organization shall authorize all necessary disbursements and appropriations, subject to the approval of the General Committee.

§ 8. Select Committees shall consist of five members each, unless otherwise ordered by this Committee.

§ 9. Every Committee to whom a matter is referred shall report, in writing, the facts, with their opinion thereon.

§ 10. Any delegate on the Committee on Organization may, in writing, substitute a member of his delegation to the General Committee to act in his absence at any one or more meetings of the Committee on Organization, as he may designate, and for the time being the delegate so designated shall exercise the powers of the member deputing him to act.

ARTICLE IX.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

SEC. 1. Five hundred members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

§ 2. As soon as a quorum is present, the Chairman, or, in his absence, the First Vice-Chairman, or in the absence of either Chairman or Vice-Chairman, such person as may be selected as temporary Chairman, shall call the Committee to order, and business shall proceed as follows :

1. Calling the Roll.
2. Minutes of Previous Meeting.
3. Communications.
4. Report of Treasurer.
5. Reports of Standing Committees.
6. Reports of Select Committees.
7. Resolutions.
8. Unfinished Business.

§ 3. If five members object, no business shall be transacted under the order of communications, except to refer the communication, lay it upon the table, or postpone it until the order of resolution is reached.

§ 4. Motion for a reference shall be in the following order :

1. To a Standing Committee.
2. To a Select Committee.

ARTICLE X.

RULES OF ORDER.

SEC. 1. Every member desiring to speak shall rise from his seat and address the Chairman. When two or more members rise at once, the Chairman shall designate the one who is entitled to the floor.

§ 2. All resolutions and papers presented by any member of the General Committee, shall have plainly indorsed thereon the subject-matter or purpose of such resolution or paper, and the name of the member presenting the same, and shall be read by the indorsement thereon, and, thereupon, shall be referred by the Chairman to an appropriate Standing Committee, without debate, unless the reading be called for by a majority of the Committee.

§ 3. After a motion is stated by the Chairman, it shall be deemed in possession of the Committee, but may be withdrawn by the mover before an amendment is made or vote taken.

§ 4. No motion shall be debated unless it be seconded ; when a motion is seconded, it shall be stated by the Chairman, and every such motion shall be reduced to writing, if any member so desires.

§ 5. If the subject under consideration contains several distinct propositions, any member may call for its division ; but a motion to strike out and insert shall be indivisible.

§ 6. When a motion is pending, no motion shall be entertained except—

1. For a Call of the Committee in the Absence of a Quorum.
2. To Adjourn.
3. For the Previous Question.
4. To Postpone Indefinitely.
5. To Postpone to a Day Certain.
6. To Lay on the Table.
7. To Amend.
8. To Commit.

Such motions shall be preferred in the order above stated ; the first six shall be decided without amendment or debate, but no such motion shall be received while a member other than the one making it has the floor. Except by unanimous consent, no motion shall be entertained nor debate allowed while the ayes and nays are being called, nor while the members are voting on any question.

§ 7. No member, while another is speaking, shall hold any private conversation, nor pass between him and the Chair. A member called to order by the Chairman shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain. All decisions of the Chairman on questions of order shall be conclusive, unless reversed on appeal to the Committee.

§ 8. No member, without the consent of the Committee, shall speak more than twice to the same general question, nor more than once until every member desiring the floor shall have spoken.

§ 9. In all cases where an order, resolution, or motion shall be entered on the minutes of the Committee, the name of the mover shall also be entered thereon.

§ 10. Motions to take up particular items of business, or relating to the priority of business shall be decided without debate.

§ 11. When a blank is to be filled, and different numbers are proposed, the question shall first be put on the largest number or the most distant time.

§ 12. The previous question shall not be put unless called for by five members, and then shall be stated as follows :—“Shall the main question be now put ?” If the question so put be decided in the affirmative, the main question shall be taken, without debate, on pending amendments in their order, and then upon the original mo-

tion; and until the latter has been put and decided, no other motion shall be entertained.

§ 13. One-fifth of the members present may require the ayes and nays upon a question to be taken and entered on the minutes, and they shall be called by Assembly Districts in their order.

§ 14. Every member who is present when a question is taken shall vote thereon, unless he is personally interested therein, or excused by the Committee.

§ 15. No member shall leave the room while the Committee is in session, without permission from the Chair.

§ 16. When the vote shall be equally divided upon any question, including the Chairman's vote, the question shall be decided to be lost.

§ 17. No motion to reconsider any vote shall be in order unless made on the same evening, or at the next succeeding meeting, nor unless made by a member who voted in the majority. A motion to reconsider having been put and lost shall not be renewed, and if laid on the table, it shall not be again taken up; but any resolution or other act of the Committee may be rescinded or revoked at a meeting called for that purpose, providing that written notice of the object of such meeting shall be served upon the members.

§ 18. Any member may change his vote after the ayes and nays have been called through, and before the vote is announced; but no member shall be permitted to vote after a decision has been announced from the Chair.

§ 19. Any member refusing to comply with the decisions of the Committee, shall be liable to reprimand or expulsion from his seat in the Committee.

§ 20. After a vote of the Committee to adjourn, the members shall keep their seats until the Chairman shall have announced the result of the vote.

§ 21. No person, unless a member of the Committee, shall be present at any of its meetings without the consent of a majority of the members present.

§ 22. No action shall be had to increase or diminish the number of members of this Committee, or to change or affect its organization in any manner, unless three-fifths of the members elected to the Committee shall vote in favor thereof; and the ayes and nays shall be called upon every resolution or proceeding relating thereto.

ARTICLE XI.

APPROPRIATIONS.

SEC. 1. No resolution making any appropriation or disposition of money or property of the Committee shall be passed, unless by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, or by a majority of the whole Committee.

§ 2. No appropriation shall at any time be sanctioned by this Committee, which, with previous appropriations unpaid, shall involve an expenditure beyond the amount to the credit of the Committee on the books of the Treasurer.

§ 3. The Committee may impose such annual dues, not exceeding ten dollars, as may be necessary to defray its expenses; and any member failing to pay such dues within the time specified, shall thereby cease to be a member of the Committee. The annual dues of the members of the Committee on Organization shall be fifteen dollars each, which shall be additional to the dues of members of the General Committee.

ARTICLE XII.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT COMMITTEES.

SEC. 1. The Democratic voters in each Assembly District, acting in unison with Tammany Hall, shall choose, in such manner as may be designated by the General Committee, not less than five delegates from each Election District in each Assembly District in this city, who, with the members of the General Committee from such Assembly District, shall constitute an Assembly District Committee, to be the permanent organization for the year for which they are created, which shall have power to make all calls and attend to all business within the several Assembly Districts, as aforesaid, respectively pertaining thereto, and not otherwise provided for by this General Committee.

§ 2. The Assembly District Committee of any District may, in its discretion, at any time, add to its number by electing new members.

ARTICLE XIII.

ALTERATIONS.

SEC. 1. These By-Laws shall not be changed or rescinded unless notice of a motion to that effect is given at a regular meeting, and the amendment proposed is adopted at a future meeting by the votes of a majority of the whole number of members of the Committee.

§ 2. Two-thirds of the members present may suspend, temporarily, the Rules of Order for the evening, but no other By-Law.

ARTICLE XIV.

OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS.

SEC. 1. Every member of this Committee obligates himself, by becoming such, to recognize and sustain the organization of which this Committee is the central representative body, and to repudiate all organizations hostile thereto; and every member of the Committee shall subscribe his name to these By-Laws as an evidence of his acceptance of such obligation, and his intention to abide thereby.

§ 2. Every member of the General Committee and the Committee on Organization, representing the respective Assembly Districts in this Committee, shall pay to the Treasurer thereof their full dues on or before March first in each year; and in default of so doing, the Committee on Organization shall have power to reorganize such Assembly District General Committee as may be found delinquent.

THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Organization consists of thirty delegates from each Assembly District General Committee.

The Committee on Organization shall be charged with the consideration of all matters relating to the organization of the Democratic party, the call of primary elections, and the conducting of primary, general, special and charter elections. And shall, in their discretion, have power of revision and substitution of all nominations hereafter made by Conventions called by this General Committee, or any District Committee of this Organization, whenever, in the judgment of the Committee on Organization, the honor, preservation and integrity of this organization shall require such action. The Committee on Organization shall authorize all necessary disbursements and appropriations, subject to the approval of the General Committee.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee consists of one delegate from each Assembly District, the Chairman of the Committees on Organization, Finance and Correspondence.



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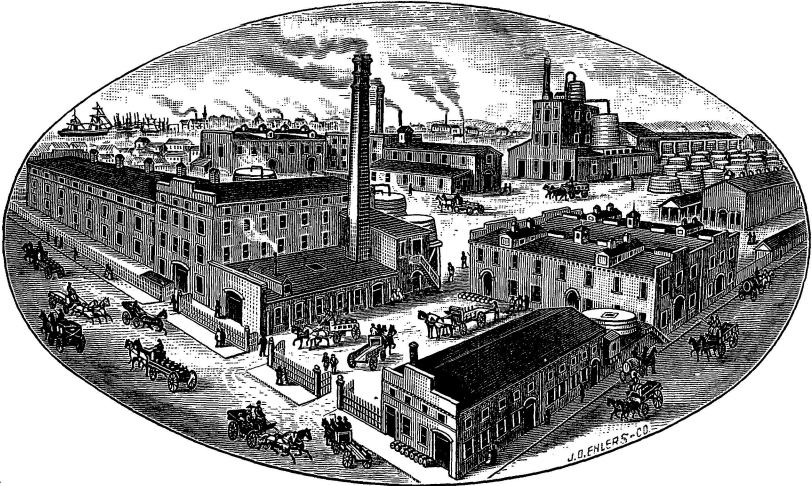
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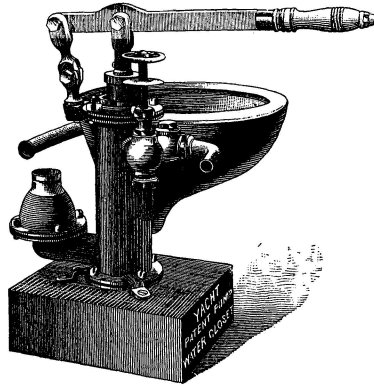
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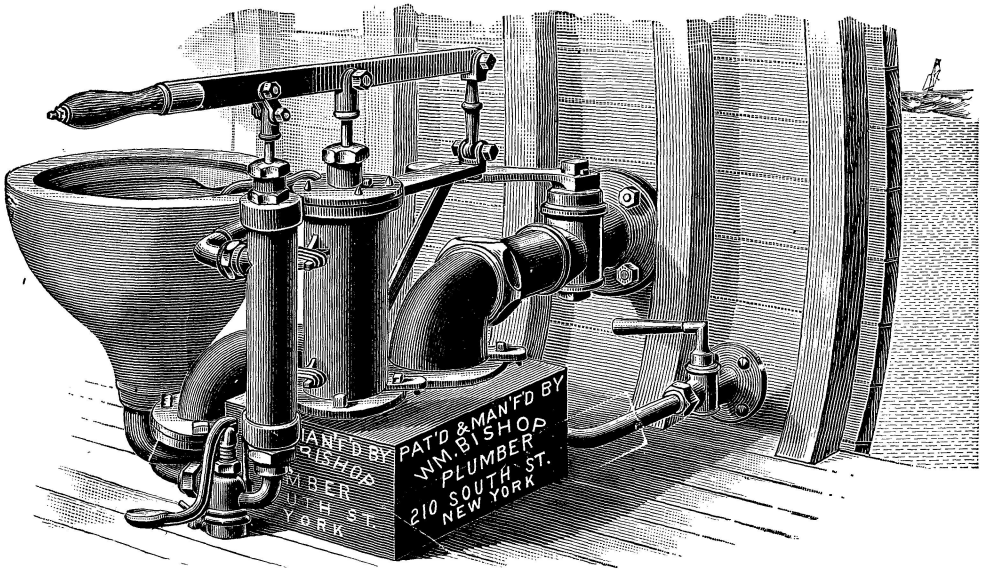
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German-American Insurance Co.

OF NEW YORK.

STATEMENT JANUARY 1, 1893.

ASSETS.

BONDS.		STOCKS.	
	MARKET VALUE.		MARKET VALUE.
United States 4 per cent.....	\$169,500 00	Albany & Susq. R. R. 100 shares.....	\$15,500 00
United States Currency 6 per cent....	179,644 00	Chic., R. I. & Pac. R. R., 1,350 shares..	112,050 00
New York City Bonds.....	1,058,423 00	C., C., C. & St. L. R. R., 2,000 shares..	186,000 00
Allegheny Street Railway 5 per cent..	25,000 00	Cayuga & Susq. R. R., 1,300 shares...	55,500 00
Brooklyn City 3 per cent.....	76,500 00	C., M. & St. P. R. R. Pref., 500 shares..	61,000 00
Troy (N. Y.) City R'y Co. 5 per cent..	25,000 00	Chic. & Nor'w'n R. R. Pref., 500 shares	70,750 00
St. Louis, Mo. 4 per cent.....	105,000 00	“ “ Com., 500 shares	56,000 00
Portland, Ore., Water 5 per cent.....	56,000 00	Det., Hillsd. & Sou'w'n R. R., 200 sh's	18,200 00
Atlanta, Ga., 4½ per cent.....	26,250 00	Morris & Essex R. R., 1,200 shares...	90,600 00
Maryland Steel Company 5 per cent....	50,000 00	N. Y. & Harlem R. R. R., 2,633 shares	355,455 00
Nashville, Tenn., Water 4½ per cent..	26,250 00	N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R., 392 shares...	99,980 00
Minneapolis L. & M. St. R'y 5 per cent..	25,000 00	N. Y., Lack. & Wes. R. R., 200 shares...	22,400 00
Albany & Susq. R. R. First 6 per cent.	89,250 00	Pennsylvania R. R., 2,500 shares.....	137,500 00
C., R. I. & P. R. R. First 6 per cent....	62,500 00	Rens. & Saratoga R. R., 500 shares...	89,000 00
“ “ “ 5 per cent.....	100,000 00	St. P., Minn. & Manitoba, 300 shares..	33,600 00
C., M. & St. P. R. R., I. & D. 7 per cent.	37,650 00	Am. Exchange Nat'l Bank, 100 shares	15,600 00
“ “ La Crosse, 5 per cent.....	61,500 00	Central National Bank, 200 shares....	27,200 00
“ “ Ia. & Minn. 7 per cent.....	12,000 00	Bank of America, 175 shares.....	37,625 00
“ “ C. & P. W. 5 per cent.....	32,400 00	Bank of Commerce, 200 shares.....	39,800 00
Chic. & Northw'n R. R., 5 per cent....	75,950 00	Fourth National Bank, 200 shares.....	40,000 00
“ “ “ 6 per cent....	45,200 00	German American Bank, 221 shares..	20,718 00
“ “ “ 5 per cent.....	46,350 00	Consolidated Gas Co., 1,000 shares....	125,500 00
Chic., Bur. & Quincy R. R. 5 per cent.	55,687 00	N. Y., Mut. Gas Light Co., 300 shares...	45,000 00
Central Pacific R. R. 6 per cent.....	53,500 00	Standard Oil Trust Co., 500 shares....	82,500 00
Col., H. V. & Toledo R. R. 5 per cent..	22,575 00	Western Union Tel. Co., 440 shares...	42,240 00
Erie R. R. First 7 per cent.....	137,000 00		
Kansas Pacific R. R. (1896) 6 per cent.	26,375 00	Total.....	\$5,338,697 00
“ “ (1899) 6 per cent.....	27,750 00	Cash in Banks.....	135,852 15
Little Miami R. R. First 5 per cent....	27,500 00	Cash in Trust Companies.....	316,636 32
Lou. & Nash. R. R. Gen'l 6 per cent....	29,250 00	Cash in Office.....	5,127 82
Missouri Pacific R. R. First 6 per cent.	55,500 00	Cash in hands Dept. Managers	27,567 46
N. Y., Lack. & W. R. R. First 6 per cent.	128,000 00	do. Agt's in course of coll.	320,212 74
N. Y., Susq. & W. R. R. First 5 per cent.	26,750 00	Accrued Interest.....	3,411 00
N. Y. Central R. R. 5 per cent.....	107,000 00		
N. Y., Chic. & St. L. R. R. First 4 per ct.	43,875 00	Total Assets.....	\$6,147,504 49
Erie R. R. 5 per cent.....	22,000 00		
Omaha & St. L. R. R. First 4 per cent.	34,200 00	Capital Stock.....	\$1,000,000 00
Pennsylvania Co. 4½ per cent.....	58,300 00	Re-Insurance Reserve.....	2,472,884 04
St. L., K. C. & N'n R. R. First 7 per ct.	63,900 00	Unadjusted and Unpaid Losses	397,575 94
St. P., Minn. & Man. R. R. 6 per cent..	36,000 00	Com'ns and other Liabilities..	20,130 12
Syr., Bing. & N. Y. R. R. First 7 per ct.	38,700 00	Net Surplus.....	2,256,915 09
Western Union Tel. Co. 5 per cent....	25,750 00	Total.....	\$6,147,504 49
Union Pacific R. R. First 6 per cent....	53,720 00		

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